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Reconsidering Ōbaku Zen and the foundation of the ink paintings of Itō Jakuchū

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NOTE TO USERS

RECONSIDERING ŌBAKU ZEN AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE INK PAINTINGS OF ITŌ JAKUCHŪ

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ABSTRACT

RECONSIDERING ŌBAKU ZEN AND
THE FOUNDATION OF THE INK PAINTINGS OF ITŌ JAKUCHŪ

by Mie Onnagawa

The recent intensive studies on Japanese painters of the eighteenth century, have investigated the creative activities of the artists. However, their works cannot be interpreted only by their unconventional originality. This thesis hopes to make it clear that the works of one of these artists, Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800), can be seen in terms of the philosophy behind the paintings and can be understood in relation to his contemporary society. Recent discussions of Jakuchū tend to be focused instead on the artist's eccentricity, rather than examining his stylistic development and his sources of inspiration.

His monochrome ink paintings represent the intensity of his own artistic and religious vision of Zen Buddhism, especially the Ōbaku sect. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate in detail and present some hypotheses on the roots of his inspiration in the syncretic character of the Ōbaku Zen, in which Pure Land Buddhism and Daoism are combined.

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Mie Onnagawa
Saratoga, California, U.S.A., October 2005

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A NOTE TO THE READER

All the Japanese names mentioned in this paper are based on the Japanese customary order: last name proceeding first name (Itō Jakuchū).

The names of places including cities, streets, and temples, are discerned by their suffixes, *-shi* (Ōsaka-shi), *-tōri* (*-dōri*) (Nishiki-dōri), *-machi, -tera (-dera)*, *-an* (Shinju-an), and *–ji* (Shōkoku-ji). Regarding the question of the Japanese terminology, most of the Japanese vocabularies and the names of the paintings are italicized, while the titles of the books are underlined.

INTRODUCTION

History of Jakuchū Studies and Its Problem

In recent years, art historians in growing numbers have turned their attention toward some of the Japanese painters of the eighteenth century, such as Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800), Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795), Ike no Taiga (1723-1776), Soga Shōhaku (1730-1781), and Nagasawa Rosetsu (1754-1799), working to investigate the creative activities of these artists, in terms of their innovative use of technique and composition. However, such enthusiasm for these painters' works tends to be superficial rather than examining their stylistic development and sources of inspiration.

The art exhibitions of the eighteenth-century Japanese painters in both Japan and the U.S. have gradually gained popularity, especially those showing the works of Jakuchū. Several special exhibitions of his work in Japan and the U.S. have allowed people to look at and appreciate his work intimately. Jakuchū's work is also in the permanent collections of museums such as the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Sannomaru Shōzō-kan Museum, Imperial Household Agency, Kyōto National Museum, and many others.

For instance, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, founded in 1870, is well known as having one of the largest museum collections of Japanese art. The establishment of the history of Japanese art was systematized by Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908), who was invited by the Japanese government in 1878 to serve

as a professor of Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Tōkyō,[1] and later on became interested in investigating and searching for hidden Japanese treasures. For instance, he traveled around the country, visiting some temples, shrines, and many other sites all over the country. Accompanied by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin)[2] (1862-1913), one of his students from the University of Tōkyō, his visit to the temples in the Kansai area, especially those of Kyōto and Nara, marked an important path for his study of the Japanese art. In his notes,[3] written in the summer of 1884 (Meiji 17), detailed sketches of paintings and sculptures that he saw are combined with his critique of them. These notes include Fenollosa's comment on one of Jakuchū's paintings of flowers and birds. While in Japan, his interest in understanding Buddhism thought, especially that of Mahayana Buddhism, increased with his appreciation of the Japanese traditions. Fenollosa vaguely hoped people in the Western world would change their cultural consciousness by knowing the heart of *bosatsu* (bodhisattva) based on the teaching of Mahayana Buddhism, in which peace and generosity, harmony and love for mankind are awakened by the sacrificial spirit.[4] While most of the Japanese seemed to pay attention to westernization, with the help of Okakura, he devoted himself in discovering and reevaluating Japanese art, and then

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[1] More details about his career in Japan are explained in Tazawa's biographical dictionary. At Tōkyō Imperial University he lectured on philosophy, ethics and political economy in the faculty of letters. Tazawa Yutaka, Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Art (Tōkyō: Kōdansha International, 1981), 61.

[2] Okakura also traveled from time to time to the United States, Europe, and India, and he did much to make Japanese and other Asian art known foreign countries. In 1910, he became curator of oriental art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. During his stay in the U.S. he also gave some lectures on the history of arts in the Far East at Tōkyō Imperial University. Ibid., 201-202.

[3] His investigations in the summer of 1884 are now a collection of the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Yamaguchi Seiichi, Fenollosa: Nihon Bunka no Senyō ni Sasageta Isshō (Ernest Francisco Fenollosa: A Life Devoted to the Advocacy of Japanese Culture) (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1982), v. 1: 203-204.

[4] Yamaguchi, Fenollosa, 1: 7.

introducing it to Japan and the U.S. Okakura lectured on Jakuchū's work while his teaching Japanese art history at the University of Tōkyō between 1890 and 1893. According to his lecture notes, Jakuchū belongs to the second era of the Tokugawa regime, "the time many eccentrics emerged."[5] At the same time, Jakuchū is considered to belong to *Fukko-ha* (school of reactionism or revival[6]), which includesYamaguchi Sekkei[7] (1644-1732), Soga Shōhaku, and Watanabe Shikō[8] (1683-1755). In 1886, Fenollosa was appointed to the fine arts commission of the Ministry of Education, and he and his student Okakura Kakuzō did major work in the study and preservation of early art. With their effort, the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts (*Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō*, now *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku*), was opened in 1889. In this art school, Fenollosa lectured on aesthetics and art history. In 1890, he went back to the U.S. to do new work as a curator of Oriental art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Two other Bostonians, Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) and William Sturgis Bigelow[9] (1850-1926) were also important figures who inspired such enthusiasm

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[5] Nakamura Reiko, "Meiji kara Shōwashoki ni okeru Itō Jakuchū no Juyō ni tsuite: Bunken Bunseki o Chūshinni," (The Importance of the work of Itō Jakuchū from the Meiji period to the beginning of the Showa period: based on the analytical study of the existing documents.) Bijutsushi rons: Tōkyō Daigaku Bungakubu Bijutsu Kenkyūshitsu Kiyō 19 (2003): 43. The translation is by the author. In this study, most of the translations of the Japanese texts into English, were done by the author.

[6] In this case, this group of artists reacts against the school of Kanō tradition. Okakura Tenshin, Okakura Tenshin Zenshū, (Tōkyō: Heibon-sha, 1980), 4:147.

[7] Yamaguchi Sekkei (1644-1732), a painter of the middle Edo period, resided in Kyōto. He admired Sesshū and the Chinese monk-painter Muqi (Mu-ch'i, or Mokkei) and also studied under Kanō Eino. He did not go along with the fashion of the times, but admired the ways of antiquity and, on that basis, created a style of his own. Tazawa, Biographical, 289.

[8] Watanabe Shikō (1683-1755) is also a painter of the middle Edo period. In 1717, he is known to have been in the service of the imperial palace. He produced paintings, mostly large in scale, and developed a style of his own. As Jakuchū did, at first, he studied the Kanō school tradition. Later, Shikō studied the style of Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716), Ibid., 184-5.

[9] Bigelow's Collection of Jakuchū's paintings, now kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, include *Kyokujitsu Hoōzu* (Phoenix and Sun), *Monju, Fugen zō* (The Bodhisattvas, Manjusri and Samantabhadra), and

among many western collectors. Morse especially emphasized the variety and beauty of Japanese ceramics and collected about five thousand pieces. The Morse collection is today in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In Japan, there is almost nothing comparable to such a huge collection of nineteenth-century-Japanese ceramics.[10] In 1890 (Meiji 23) and the next three years, lectures on the history of Japanese art were given by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) at the University of Fine Arts, Tōkyō. It was the first time that the history of Japanese art was discussed systematically in Japan.[11] In history, art always reflects and visualizes society, in which the relationship between the state and its authority is dominant. For once, the systematic study of Japanese art was evaluated by these westerners who were patronized by the Japanese government, which were trying to westernize their country.[12]

Moreover, the Etsuko and Joe Price[13] Collection,[14] located at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, is well known for having largest collection of the work of Itō

Ōmuzu (Cockatoo). In Sanskrit, Monju is called Manjusri with its meaning of Buddhist Deity of Wisdom, and *Fugen* is called Samantabhadra with its meaning of Buddhist Deity of Virtue.

[10] Ogawa Morihiro, "Boston Bijutsukan Tōyō-bu no Collection" (The Collection of Asian Art in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Exhibition of Japanese Screen Paintings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Boston Bijutsukan Hizō, Kinsei Nihon Byōbu-e Meisaku ten (Tōkyō: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1981), 86. The translation is by the author.

[11] Nakamura, Bijutsushi rons, 43.

[12] Horiuchi Saeka, "Ōbei no Nihon Bijutsu Hyōka to Nihon ni Okeru Sono Eikyōryoku: Japonism no Saikō to Kinnen no Itō Jakuchū Hyōka kara Yomitoku" (The evaluation of the Japanese art by the western world and its influence in Japan: Based on the reconsideration of the Japonism and the recent evaluation of the works of Itō Jakuchū) Keisen Academia: Keisen Jogakuen Daigaku (Keisen Women's College) December 2004, 312.

[13] Mr. Price, a son of the owner of a company that manufactures pipes for transporting petroleum in Oklahoma, started to collect Jakuchū's artwork when he graduated from college. Shirahata Yoshi, "Jakuchū ni Narikitta Price-san, Tokushū: Jakuchū Bijutsukan o Tateta America-jin 2," Geijutsu Shinchō 22-23 (1971): 106.

[14] The name of this museum is "Shinen-kan." First built on part of the Price estate in Oklahoma was designed by the architects, Bruce Goff and Bart Prince, and who named after Jakuchū's own art studio. The architect of the Price residence in Oklahoma, Bruce Guff, was also inspired by Frank Lloyd Wright, designed a new building for the pavilion of Japanese Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It has seventeen artworks of Jakuchū and other works of the Japanese art of the Edo Period. The part of these collections of Etsuko and

Jakuchū in the U.S. His other biographical information tells that Price was an assistant to Frank Lloyd Wright, on Price Tower in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, designed by Wright for Price's father. According to Price, Frank Lloyd Wright taught him how to appreciate nature, and it eventually led him to be interested in Japanese art.[15] What specifically Mr. Wright taught him was that the great thing about the art is seeing nature with something arranged by the human. Things existing in nature, even weeds, become more beautiful if they are arranged and decorated, rather than being in the wild.[16] Back in 1963, Price traveled to Japan for the first time, and since then he collected Japanese art in which the delicate treatment of space, unconventional composition, and strength inspired by a precise knowledge of how to express nature are represented.[17] Price was one of the first Westerners to see the paintings of Itō Jakuchū. Interestingly, he writes of his motivation for collecting some of the Japanese paintings of the Edo Period and says that his ignorance of Japanese language and Japanese art history forced him to rely on paintings, so that he could fully use his instinctive eye. Within a society restricted by an emphasis on academism, a study rendered with a radical sense of values is hard to emerge. However, for foreign scholars and even people who are not specialized in the history of art, it seems to be active enough so as not to be restricted by such academism. In this manner, they are fully able to use their fresh instinctive eyes to see artworks and

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Joe Price were donated to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and exhibited in the museum's Pavilion for Japanese Art, which has been open since 1988.

[15] Robert T. Singer, "Archaeology News: Japanese Painting of the Edo Period," Archaeology, March/April 1986, 64.

[16] Joe Price, Kobayashi Tadashi, and Chizawa Teiji, "Jakuchū no Saiken" (The Rediscovery of Jakuchū), Geijutsu Shinchō 22, no. 10 October 1971, 74. The translation is by the author.

to discover the new value of art, since there is no preconception blocking their view. In Mr. Price's article, "Jakuchū Itō, A Collector's View," in the book A Sheaf of Japanese Papers (1979), he mentions how little was known about Itō Jakuchū at that time. Even a couple of years before that, the name of this artist was seldom found in lists of Japanese artists, and where it was mentioned he was passed over quite rapidly. No English publication gave him more than a short and vague paragraph, and seldom was he granted an illustration.[18] Price also comments on the character of Edo art that is free from overtones of religion, intellectual meanings, or dictatorial stylistic conventions, since paintings are so purely related to the heart of nature which can be appreciated by anyone without the aid of scholarly explanations or religious disciplines.[19] In Japan, Jakuchū's paintings used to be considered as having overly bright gaudy colors, which were thought not to demonstrate a Zen aesthetic. However, with the efforts of Mrs. and Mr. Price, recently Japanese and Western scholars have begun to reevaluate Jakuchū's work.

The history of interest in Jakuchū's works outside Japan has been influenced by the scholars and collectors mentioned above. With the rise of appreciation of this artist, a number of enthusiastic scholars and college students are studying Jakuchū. Tsuji Nobuo, Kobayashi Tadashi, Kanō Hiroyuki, Satō Yasuhiro, Doi Tsugiyoshi,

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[17] Kanō Hiroyuki, Me o Miharu Itō Jakuchū no *Dōshoku sai-e* (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2003), 117.
[18] Joe D. Price, Matthi Forrer, ed., "Jakuchū Itō, A Collector's View," in A Sheaf of Japanese Papers in Tribute to Heinz Kaempfer on His 75th Birthday (Amsterdam: Society for Japanese Arts and Crafts, the Hague, 1979). Some parts of this article are also translated into Japanese. See, "Tokushū: Jakuchū bijutsukan o tateta America jin 1, Watakushi no Jakuchū Henreki," (A Special Report: Jakuchū Museum built by an American, My Jakuchū Pilgrimage) Geijutsu Shinchō, 22-23 (1971): 100-5.
[19] Price, "A Personal Explanation of the Shinenkan Collection," Beikoku, Shin'enkan Collection: Kinsei Nihon Kaiga Shūsei (The Shin'enkan Collection of Japanese Painting) (Kyōto: Kyōto Shoin Inc, 1984), 15.

and Shimizu Yoshiaki are the leading Jakuchū scholars, and their meticulously detailed investigations are influential in Japan and other countries. For example, Tsuji Nobuo, a former Professor Emeritus of the University of Tōkyō and the present President of Tama Art University, was the first scholar who wrote a comprehensive book on Jakuchū in 1974.[20] In addition, his first article on Jakuchū appeared in issue 303 of Bijutsu Techō (October, 1968), which includes some lively comments on the nature of Jakuchū's work. Following after Dr. Tsuji's scholarly written sources on Jakuchū, the recent exhibitions of catalogues and books on Jakuchū by specialists seem to describe the artist as an eccentric, rather than examining the works themselves for stylistic development and sources of inspiration. These scholars' enthusiasm for Jakuchū seems to have been motivated primarily by their romantic interpretation of the artist's personality and circumstances, such attitudes also shared by some other scholars of this couple of decades. Their view of Jakuchū as a person out of step with his times, often calling him on *itansha* (heretic), and especially the style seen in one of Jakuchū's masterpieces, the series of *Dōshoku sai-e*,[21] tends to be overstated.

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[20] In fact, there was another book written by Dr. Tsuji, before the book, Jakuchū (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha). In Kisō no Keifu (Lineages of Eccentrics) (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1970), Tsuji focus on this artist who had not been known so much at that time. The content of this book is also seen in the series of the articles on Bijutsu Techō (from July to December, 1968). "Kisō no Keifu 2, Edo no avant-garde, Itō Jakuchū: Genso no hakubutsushii," Bijutsu Techō, 303 October 1968, 152-175. Other editions of this book were also published later. (1988, e.g.) The painters discussed in this book include Iwasa Matabei, Kanō Sansetsu, Itō Jakuchū, Soga Shōhaku, Nagasawa Rosetsu, and Utagawa Kuniyoshi. However, two years before Tsuji's Kisō no Keifu, the publication of the series of books Nihon no Bijutsu (Tōkyō: Shōgaku-kan, 1969) which included all these painters (for example, the art of Jakuchū and Rosetsu appears in the volume 18, Nanga to Shaseiga) discussed in Tsuji's Kisō no Keifu, began. Yajima Arata, Nihon Bijutsu no Hakkenshatachi (about people discovered the art of Japan) (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2003), 60-61.

[21] The series of *Dōshoku sai-e* (thirty works in total) were presented to the Shōkoku-ji, since Jakuchū hoped to leave these works as a legacy for future generations, according to Daiten's document, Tōkei waga-ki, chapter

In fact, most of these publications do not indicate that Jakuchū belongs to any particular school of the Edo period; rather these writings just mention he followed some of the popular schools in his earlier years as a painter, including those of Kanō and Shen Nan-p'in (1680-1760).[22] In recent years, Jakuchū's *Chōju Kabokuzu Byōbu* (Birds, Animals, and Flowering Plants)[23] (Plate 1) and the series of *Dōshoku saie* (Animals and Plants in Colors)[24] (Plate 2-5) are probably more thoroughly examined than any other monochrome ink paintings by Jakuchū, since these colorful paintings of Jakuchū were believed to be the ones which made Jakuchū most famous. Jakuchū is also well known for his realistic depictions of hens and roosters in brilliant colors. These are related to the work of other artists of his time, such as Maruyama Ōkyo, who are often referred to as realists, since they sketched directly from nature and emphasized the actual and exact appearance of things in nature: plants, creatures, and so forth. In contrast to these colorful realistic paintings, in the monochrome ink paintings, the artist's sense of humor is evident. Besides the style and influences of his work, Jakuchū scholars have discussed the artists' techniques. Other Jakuchū

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eight of Shōun Seikō. Tsuji Nobuo, "Jakuchū hitsu *Dōshoku sai-e* ni tsuite (About the Color Paintings of Animals and Plants by Jakuchū)," Museum, no. 245 August 1971, 21.

[22] Accordrding to Yokoi Tokifuyu's Nihon Kaiga-shi (The History of Japanese Painting) published in 1901 (Tōkyō: Kinkodō Shoseki) besides Jakuchū, those who studied the Kanō school were Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724), Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716), Maruyama Ōkyo(1733-1795), Mori Sosen (1747-1821), Hokusai (1760-1849), Takada Keihō (1674-1755), and Go Shummei (1700-1781). The other school to which Jakuchū partly belonged was that of Shen Nan-p'in. Yokoi also mentions artists who are famous for their sketching during the modern period, include Maruyama Ōkyo, Ganku (1749/56-1838), Mori Sosen, and Itō Jakuchū. Nakamura, Studies in Art History, 44.

[23] Copied with permission.

[24] Sannomaru Shōzōkan in the Imperial Household is the largest institution where Jakuchū's *Dōshoku saie* (Animal and Plants in Colors), the best known work of him, a collection consisting of thirty colorful hanging scrolls, is exhibited. Copied with permission.

scholars discuss the use of a grid system in his paintings. Hiroko Johnson,[25] Izumi Miho,[26] and Tamamushi Reiko[27] have thoroughly analyzed his use of the grid in relation to his treatment of composition and color. Indeed, they theorize that Jakuchū might have been inspired by the Japanese grid system, called *masume-gaki*. Their discussions convincingly focus on the issue that Kyōto, where Jakuchū was born and raised, was well known for its traditional *Nishijin-ori kimono* weaving, and the technique of *masume-gaki* was a special device for designing this type of kimono.

It is true that Jakuchū and people of his time lived in a society where creativity was suppressed by the rigid Tokugawa government. Having considered the more diverse points of view in eighteenth-century Kyōto society and the painters associated with these, my discussion is based on investigations of their creative efforts and activities, and how their stylistic development and sources of inspiration were shared with their colleagues. Specifically, this study will examine how Jakuchū's work was affected by Zen Buddhism, especially, the Ōbaku sect, of which

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[25] Regarding this study of the influences of tile paintings, mosaics, or textiles on Jakuchū's polychrome ink paintings, Kobayashi Tadashi first pointed out these possible facts. In addition to Dr. Hiroko Johnson's Master Thesis with its title of Analytical Study of Itō Jakuchū's Work: Birds, Animals, and Flowers, California State University, Northridge, 1990. She further discusses this topic in her articles, "Itō Jakuchū and his Innovative Approach in Painting" (written in English), Oriental Art 46, no. 1 (2000): 28-34, and "Kenkyū Shiryō: Itō Jakuchū no Mosaic-fu yon Sakuhin nitsuite (Research data on four pieces of mosaic-styled paintings by Jakuchū)" (written in Japanese), Kokka 1196 (1995): 28-37. Ms. Johnson is a present assistant professor of art history in San Diego State University.

[26] Ms. Izumi Miho's thesis, Itō Jakuchū no *masume-gaki* sakuhin o saikō suru: Nishijin-ori shō-e to no kankei kara (Reconsidering the use of grid method applied to Jakuchū's work: Relation to the special design drawing used for Kyōto weaving technique). Kanazawa College of Arts and Design, 1999.

[27] For the further discussion of Dr. Tamamushi Reiko's article, see "Niten no Kkasō no Rakuen-zu (Two pieces of paintings with the theme of imagined world of paradise)" in an exhibition catalogue, Isai no Edo Bijutsu: Kasō no Rakuen (Eccentric art of Edo: Imagined world of paradise), (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Prefectural Museum, 1997). Dr. Tamamushi is a curator at the National Museum in Tōkyō and a former professor at Musashino University of Arts.

there has been little scholarly study, in contrast to the well-known Rinzai and Sōtō sects.

In addition to their description of unconventional aspects or techniques practiced by Jakuchū, when art historians discuss his work they rarely focus their attention on external events and how he came upon the ideas that applied to his work. While Jakuchū's techniques and subjects departed from Japanese conventions, his work was influenced by certain contemporaries through
Chinese paintings brought to Japan and promoted by the Chinese community there. Although artists like Jakuchū and even some of his contemporaries are often viewed as eccentrics, the foundation of their work cannot be separated from that of artists before them. I believe that more than any other, some of his monochrome ink paintings represent the intensity of his own artistic and religious vision. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to investigate in detail what Jakuchū learned from Chinese paintings, as well as from various influential people of his time. At the same time, this paper will present some hypotheses on the roots of his inspiration from the syncretic character of the Ōbaku Zen Buddhism, in which Pure Land Buddhism, Chinese folk tales, and Daoism are combined.

Chapter One of this paper focuses on the history of the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism. The main discussion in this chapter is devoted to the reasons Kyōto, Jakuchū's hometown, provided a freer environment for artists, monks, and scholars, compared to those of the Edo area. The following three chapters focus on the biography of Jakuchū and also include a discussion of the influential events of his life,

when some of the most inspiring figures and their ideas allowed Jakuchū to nourish his artistic freedom. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of the influence of the syncretic teaching of Ōbaku Zen on some of Jakuchū's monochrome ink paintings.

CHAPTER 1

History of Ōbaku Zen Buddhism in Japan

Kyōto, a city mostly known as Japan's ancient capital and once called *Heiankyō*, means a capital of peace and tranquility. Since the Heian period (794-1185), Kyōto had served as an important cultural and religious center, then, during the Kamakura period (1185-1333), the capital was shifted to another location, Kamakura, located in today's city of Kamakura in Kanagawa Prefecture, on the Pacific Ocean, southeast of Edo. Kyōto, also the residence of the Imperial family, remained the nation's most influential cultural and religious center. During the Edo period, in spite of the fact that Buddhism tended to wane because of the government's strong support of Confucianism, Zen temples in Kyōto remained the most active cultural center. About two thousand temples and shrine still serve as the largest concentration of religious institutions in the country. One of the possible reasons why the city of Kyōto provided a freer environment for scholars, artists, and monks, was that they were not so restricted by the Kyōto government, compared to the Edo government.

Under strong Chinese influence, many Zen Buddhist monks actively working in the Kyōto area, served as scholars, including poets, calligraphers, and painters, and attracted many other artists whose works are deeply associated with the idea of Zen Buddhism. One of the most influential Zen temples of the time was Mampuku-ji, the headquarters of the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism. Mampuku-ji, built in the city of Uji, located in the southeast of the main basin of Kyōto (Yamashiro Province), was founded by a Chinese monk named Yin-yuan Lung-ch'i (Ingen Ryūki in Japanese). In 1654, the Ming dynasty abbot, Ingen Ryūki, the first patriarch of this sect in Japan, came to Nagasaki, in western Kyūshū, and

stayed at Kōfuku-ji[28] (the Ōbaku sect temple) for a year. The following year, Ingen left Kōfuku-ji, and moved to Uji, where he founded the new Ōbaku headquarters, Mampuku-ji.

Before proceding to the next discussion, namely, the establishment the Ōbaku Zen in Japan, the origin of the Huang-po (Ōbaku) in China needs to be briefly described. In the middle of the seventh century during the Tang dynasty, Ōbaku was founded by Zen Buddhists who built a monastery on Mount Huang-po[29] in Fukien province,[30] southern China. The temple was founded in 789 by Cheng-kan, a monk in the Sixth Patriarch's line, who called his meditation hermitage Po-jo-t'ang. It was soon enlarged and renamed Chen-fu-ssu.[31] One of the important monks at the temple was given the name of this mountain, Huang-po, when he died in 850. The record of this monk's sayings, which have remained to this date, is considered one of the main Zen texts, and consists of sermons, dialogues, and anecdotes of the master; central to them is his conception of mind or spirit. The mind, he taught, by its own nature contains enlightenment and contains the Buddha.[32] One of Huang-po's followers, the Tang dynasty Buddhist Chinese monk, Lin-chi I-hsüan, also called Linji Yixuan (Rinzai Gigen in Japanese), often asked Huang-po questions about the nature of

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[28] Kōfuku-ji was built in 1620 (Genwa era 6) by the Ming dynasty abbot Shinen. It was dedicated to the Goddess Matsu (*Maso* in Japanese), protectress of sea voyagers. Back in the Song period, the worship of Matsu arose in Fukien province. In Japan, both Nagasaki and Okinawa, there are some temples dedicated to this deity. Stephen Addiss and Kwan S. Wong, Zen Painting and Calligraphy (Lawrence: The Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, 1978), [12]. There was another Ōbaku temple Ingen first built in Japan, since he came to Japan. It is a temple called Kaifuku-ji which used to be located in Fukagawa in Tōkyo. For the further reference, note Ōbaku-den (Ōbaku Pavillion) in Kyōto is well known for the best library that collects ample information on the Ōbaku Studies. Takenuki Gensho, Kinsei Ōbaku-shū Matsuji-chō shūsei (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1990), 7 and 13.

[29] The mountain took its name from that of a plant that grew on its slopes, which turned a brilliant yellow every autumn. Ibid., [11]. The bark of this plant is used for medicine and dyestuffs, and is called *kihada.*

[30] It is called Fukken-shō in Japanese. Hayashida Yoshio, "Min matsu ni okeru Fukushu no Bukkyo—Ōbakuzanji o chushin ni," Bukkyō Shigaku Kenkyū 30, no. 2 (Oct. 1987): 11.

[31] Helen J. Baroni, Ōbaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 27.

Buddha, but his teacher's wordless answer and strict treatment of him eventually made him disappointed. At last, he decided to leave the temple and described his unhappy feelings regarding his teacher Huang-po to another Zen master. However, Linchi was told by yet another teacher that he was loved by Huang-po. Linchi was so fascinated with this story and was enlightened. Linchi originally founded the sect called Linji-zong (Linji school in Chinese) or called Rinzai in Japanese, which became the largest of all Zen sects in China and Japan. The Rinzai sect was brought to Japan and established by the Japanese Buddhist priest, Myōan Eisai (or Yeisai)[33] (1141-1215),[34] who went to China (Song dynasty) in 1168 (late Heian period, or more specifically the Fujiwara period) to seek the roots of the sect on Mount T'ien-t'ai.[35] He came back from China, but in 1187 he revisited China, going to the capital of the Song Dynasty, Rinan (in Chinese), and expecting to go on to India.[36] His strong hope of going to India never came true, but instead he met a Zen teacher named Xuan Huaichang

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[32] Stephen Addiss, Ōbaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy (Lawrence: The Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, 1978), 11.

[33] Eisai began studying the Buddhism in a Tendai temple, Mount Hiei. However, he started to question the teaching of this sect of Tendai, and then he made his first trip to Mt. T'ien-t'ai in China, the home of the sect, where he learned Chan Buddhism for the first time. Although there was the opposition of traditional sects of Buddhism including the Tendai, Shingon, and Jōdo-shinshū (Pure Land) sects, Eisai eventually left Kyōto and went to Kamakura in 1199, where the Kamakura shogunate and warrior class of *samurai* supported the teaching of Zen Buddhism. At the same time, Eisai is known for bring the tea-drinking custom from China to Japan, although this tradition had been established during the Heian Period, when the Buddhist priest Saichō returned from studies in China, bringing tea seeds. The tea drinking custom gradually declined because of the civil wars. However, when these wars ended and peace returned, tea drinking was revived in the end of the thirteenth century, especially by this Zen priest, Eisai, who reintroduced the tea plant to Japan, bringing new tea seeds from China and planting them on the slope of Chikuzen, today's Saga Prefecture in Kyūshū in the southern part of Japan. William H. Ukers, All about Tea (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935), 1: 8. The date Eisai returned from China is July, 1191 (the second year of Kenkyu), according to Ueno Masuzo's Nenpyō Nihon Hakubutsugaku-shi (The Natural History of Japan) (Tōkyō: Hassaka Shobō, 1989), 29. It is especially important to note this event because later on this tea drinking custom cultivated by Eisai influenced the *sencha* culture practiced by Baisaō and many of his followers in Jakuchū's time, which will be discussed in a later chapter of this study.

[34] "Yōsai" is also a proper pronunciation, according to Daisetz T Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc., 1959), 62.

[35] The Tendai sect was founded by Saichō (767-822), a Japanese monk who studied in Tang dynasty China.

[36] Kasahara Kazuo, A History of Japanese Religion (Tōkyō: Kōsei Publishing Co., 2001), 227.

(Kian Enshō), and worked under his teaching. After coming back from China in 1191, he founded the Rinzai sect of Zen with its headquarters at Kennin-ji in Kyōto. The Japanese Ōbaku sect of Zen, which was descended from the Chinese Linji school, shares some characteristics with it, as the Ōbaku Zen would be incorporated into the existing Japanese Rinzai establishment.[37] The original founder of the Rinzai sect was Linchi's follower Yin-yuan (Ingen). During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Linchi Zen Buddhism (*Rinzai shū*) gradually declined in China because the doctrines of other sects, such as Esoteric Buddhism, and doctrines of the Pure Land sect, were mixed with the original teaching of Linchi Zen. Despite these radical religious reforms, some monks still followed the original teachings of Huang-po. Some of these Chinese Zen monks were fearful of being controlled by the foreign enemy, the Manchus. The monks often suffered under the Manchus as well as under the anti-Ming military forces which attacked the Zen monasteries. After the Ming dynasty finally fell, some of the Zen monks at Mount Huang-po left China, and went to Japan. One of these, Itsunen Shōyū (1601/2-1668)[38] reached Nagasaki in 1644 and later became the third abbot of Kōfuku-ji. Itsunen (I jan Hsing Jung), who was originally from Hangchow (Chekiang Province) and a great artist, spent much time painting portraits of Buddha and other historical

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[37] Helen J Baroni, "Bottled Anger: Episodes in Conflict in the Tokugawa Period," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 21, no.2-3 June-September 1994, 192.

[38] Itsunen is a Chinese monk-painter who came to Japan in the early Edo period. He was born in Renhe (Jen-ho) in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province. Because of the fall and political turmoil of the Ming dynasty, he came to Nagasaki in 1644 and there became the third head priest of the Kofuku-ji, Ōbaku Zen temple in Nagasaki. Tazawa, Biographical, 107. In addition, Ōtsuki, an author of Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten (the Biographical Dictionary of the people associated with the Ōbaku Culture) mentions that when Itsunen first came to Nagasaki he already had a business selling medicine. Ibid.,17. Narusawa Katsushi, "Kōbeshiritsu Hakubutsukanhen: Ingen Zenshi Seitan 400-nen kinen, Ingen Zenshi to Ōbaku Zenshi to Ōbakushū no Kaigaten," Kobijutsu 97 January 1991, 113.

characters.[39] In the third year of Keian (1650), Itsunen retired and then built his own retirement house (Chorinan) in front of the temple. Itsunen accepted Mushin Shōkaku's (1613-1671) strong entreaty to invite Ingen to Japan and decided to send about ten monks to the place where Ingen lived. In July of the same year, Ingen sent a letter saying that he could not accept Itsunen's request of journeying to Japan, because he thought he was too old to do this. However, Itsunen never gave up and so, in August, he again asked Ingen to come to Japan, but his message did not get through because of pirates. A third request was sent to Ingen. Ingen was flattered by such warm invitations constantly sent by Itsunen. Ingen sent Ta-mei (1616-1673) to Nagasaki to investigate and to get more information about the internal situation of Japan. In August, the fourth request was sent to him and it finally succeeded.[40] Ingen reached Japan with twenty priests and ten artisans on July 5, 1654. Although he promised his followers in China to come back in three years, he remained in Japan permanently.

As more Chinese Ōbaku monks and traders arrived in Nagasaki, the Chinese community gradually grew in size and importance. The probable reason for the growing Chinese population was the social instability of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), which was suffering from Manchu invasions from the north. The Manchus, descendants of the Jurchen rulers of the North Chinese Jin dynasty of the Song era, consolidated their rule in the face of a refugee Southern Ming regime and substantial continuing resistance and rebellions based in

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[39] Aloysius Chang, The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1688) (Ph. D. Dissertation, St. John's University, 1970), 115.

[40] Ōtsuki Mikio, Katō Shōshun, and Hayashi Yukimitsu, Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten (The Biographical Dictionary of the Ōbaku Culture) (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1988), 17-18. This English translation is by the author.

south China.[41] Therefore, a number of Chinese monks came to Japan to escape from the harsh civil wars. The new Tokugawa government had closed Japan to foreign countries, except for some trade with the Dutch and Chinese, but only in Nagasaki. The Japanese government allowed some of the Chinese people to serve as official interpreters, which lubricated the relationship between the Japanese and the Chinese communities.[42]

Ingen stayed at Kōfuku-ji after coming from China, and soon he went to live in the Fumon-ji. Several Japanese monks visited this great Ōbaku patriarch. One of them, Ryōkei (1602-1670), a monk at Myōshin-ji in Kyōto, and who was respected by the Emperor Gomizuno (1596-1680) and the Tokugawa government, invited Ingen to meet the fourth Shogun at the time, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641-1680),[43] in Edo. Ryōkei also invited Ingen to visit Myōshin-ji. Ingen's active contribution was very important in founding the new Ōbaku Zen sect, as he was intimately working under the Imperial family as well as with the government. With the government's strong financial support, a new temple was built in Uji, Kyōto. This temple named Mampuku-ji became the headquarters of the Ōbaku school of Zen.

Helen Baroni points out why and how Ōbaku Zen,[44] as a new Buddhist school, succeeded in spreading without an institutional base in Japan and in spite of the Tokugawa bakufu's rigid rule, in which the study of Confucianism was officially sponsored by the

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[41] Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd, Chinese Art and Culture (New York: Prentic Hall, Inc., and Haryy N. Abrams, Inc., 2001), 317.
[42] Addiss, Ōbaku [12]. Beginning in 1614, records show that fifty or more Chinese merchant vessels came to Nagasaki each year.
[43] Yamazaki Masakane, Namiki Yuki, and Kuruyama Fumiyasu (Rinzai-kai), Shōwa, Heisei: Zensō-den Rinzai, Ōbaku hen (Tōkyō: Shunjū-sha, 2000), 249
[44] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the number of temples was about one thousand, in fifty provinces in Japan. Saijō Minoru, Bunka-chō Sōsetsu 25 Shūnen Kinen, Tokubetsu Tenrankai, Bijutsu: Edo jidai no Bunka

government. Besides the religious activities, the Japanese were very interested in the Chinese culture itself, which had been brought and introduced by the Chinese monks who were also talented artists. For instance, many of them brought Chinese paintings, calligraphy, history books, and poetry, which inspired the Japanese audience. Itsunen, for example, was a great painter of *butsuga* and *sōtokuga*, and brought the painting technique developed during the late Ming dynasty. Through the close connection between Nagasaki and the Kyōto-Ōsaka area, the influence of *kara*-e brought by the Chinese appealed to the literati circle of the eighteenth century, including the artists Itō Jakuchū, Yanagisawa Kien (1704-1758), Kakutei[45] (1722-1785), the Ōbaku priest in Nagasaki, Ike no Taiga, and Kimura Kenkadō (1736-1802).[46] Kimura Kenkadō, who provided lodgings for his friends Jakuchū and Daiten during their stay in Ōsaka, played an intermediary role among important literary circles in Ōsaka.[47] In Nagasaki Gajinden (a collection of biographies of the artists in Nagasaki), Watanabe Hidemi notes Itsunen as the founder of *kara-e* (Chinese style painting).[48] Another Ōbaku monk, Taihō Shōkon (1691-1774), was also good at *bokuchiku-ga* (the ink-painting of bamboo). Yin-yuan (Ingen), Mu-an (Mokuan; 1611-84), and Chi-fei (Sokuhi; 1616-71)[49]

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o Kaetamono (25th Anniversary of Founding the Cultural Affair Agency, Special Exhibition, The Art of Ōbaku : Its Influence on the Formation of the Culture of the Edo period) (Kyōto: Kyōto National Museum, 1993), 7.

[45] Kakutei's given name by his Zen maser is Kaigan Jōkō.

[46] Narusawa Katsushi, "Edo Jidai Kaiga ni Miru Ōbaku Eikyō, Ōbaku Bijutsu no shomondai: Kaiga o chūshinni, Kenkyū Happyō to Zadankai," Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Ueno Kinen Zaidan Josei Kenkyūkai. March 1994, 9. Kenkadō is also known as a private collector of Baisaō's tea shop-banner that has a writing "Seifū," given by Daiten. Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, Kimura Kenkadō: Naniwa no Kyojin: Tokubetsuten Botsugo 200 nen Kinen (Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2003), 184.

[47] Ōnishi Hiroshi, On a Riverboat Journey (New York: George Braziller Inc, 1990), 15.

[48] Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka. Biographical dictionaries of various fields (*jinmeiroku*), published in some major cities, include (Naniwa Gōyū-roku) and Kyōto (Heian Jinbutsu-shi). Ōsaka shiritsu hakubutsu-kan (Ōsaka Municipal Museum, Kinsei Ōsaka Gadan no Chōsa Kenkyū: Ōsaka-gaku Chōsa Kenkyū Hōkoku-sho 1, (Ōsaka: Ōsaka shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1998), 8. In Heian Jinbutsu-shi, Jakuchū's name also appears

[49] One of his known works is *Reading a Sutra under the Moon* (Plate 6), copied with permission, a collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art.

were known as the "Three Brushes of Ōbaku,"[50] and their Ōbaku-style calligraphy, with its dynamic expression executed with curves and thick strokes, stimulated the stagnant circles of Japanese calligraphy at that time.[51] In a later chapter, the new Chinese culture introduced to Japanese society of the Edo period will be thoroughly discussed.

As noted above, both western and Japanese scholars tend to focus less on discussing the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism than on the two other major sects (Soto and Rinzai). The teaching and doctrine of the Ōbaku Zen has often been criticized and even dismissed by Rinzai scholars, who point it out as "an aberrant or even heretical form of Rinzai practice."[52] Although the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism succeeded in attracting many Japanese converts during the first decades of the Edo period, it finally threatened the older well established sects, especially the Rinzai Zen and the Jōdō Shin (True Pure Land) Buddhist sects. Even if Ōbaku Zen is viewed as one associated with the Pure Land sect Buddhism, Ōbaku priests did not seem to make effort to establish ties with the Pure Land temple or leaders.[53] Nevertheless, Ingen referred to himself as the priest of the thirty-second generation descended from Lin-chi, who was instructed by his master, Huang-po, the founder of the Ōbaku sect. However, a competitive relationship developed between Ōbaku and Rinzai later on, because Zen Rinzai and Sōtō had evolved further in Japan after being brought by the Japanese monks Eisai and Dōgen (1200-1253), while Ōbaku had gradually been influenced

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[50] These three calligraphers are also called *Inmokusō*, and their works are called *Ōbaku no Sanpitsu*."
[51] Kasahara, 379. In addition to Kasahara's interpretation of Zen calligraphy, Stephen Addiss mentions that the first stroke of each character contrasts with the strong sense of movement in the brushwork of these -monk-artists. Stephen Addiss, "The Revival of Zen Paintings in Edo Period-Japan," Oriental Art 31 Spring 1985, 54.
[52] Baroni, Ōbaku Zen, 5. Some of the major conflicts between the sect and Rinzai Zen is also mentioned in Baroni's article, "Bottled Anger, Episodes in Conflict in the Tokugawa Period," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, 21, no. 2-3 (June-September 1994): 191-210.
[53] Ibid., 194.

by other Buddhist sects in China and became an impure form during the Ming period. Ōbaku Zen incorporated these influences into its doctrines, including the Pure Land practices.

At any rate, Ōbaku Zen as a new Buddhist Zen sect spread in Japan primarily due to the following reasons. First of all, the doctrine of Ōbaku Zen and the culture brought by Chinese monks eager to maintain various features of customs practiced in their homeland appealed to the Japanese community. Many Japanese scholars and artists were greatly inspired by the aesthetic aspect of Chinese tradition, including the language and the artistic theories. Second, the external pressure on this new school eventually contributed to its history, since the monks who emigrated to Japan must have realized that they had to overcome the limited financial support if they were to benefit from the Japanese government and compete with other sects. The Ōbaku temples had little opportunity for financial support, while many other Buddhist sects had relatively stable support from the government.

Thus, despite the gradual decline of Buddhism in the Edo period, the migration of the Chinese monks and other so-called Ming loyalists of the late Ming and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty helped the Japanese open their eyes to a new fresh culture in spite of the Tokugawa policy of seclusion. By the middle of the eighteenth century, there were about one thousand Ōbaku temples built in the fifty-one provinces[54] of Japan.

[54] Specifically, this was the year 1745 (Enchō 2), about ninety years after Ingen came to Japan. Nakano Mitsutoshi, Nihon no Kinsei: Bungaku to Bijutsu no Seijuku (Modern Japan: Full Growth of Literature and Visual Arts), (Tōkyō: Chūōkōron-sha, 1993), 12: 410.

CHAPTER 2

Jakuchū's Biography

Biographical information about Jakuchū appears in various historical documents written in the end of the Edo period, such as the Kinsei Itsujin Gashi (c. 1824), the Gajō Yōryaku (1831), and many other inscriptions found in the temples of Kyōto where he was born and raised. Nevertheless, the most accurate and the closest observation on Jakuchū's life and his artwork is that of the Rinzai Zen monk at Shōkoku-ji, Daiten Kenjō (1719-1801), one of the most renowned men of letters of the time, who was not only a good writer of Jakuchū's biography, but also Jakuchū's mentor. Daiten's writings on Jakuchū's life, including his commentaries on much of Jakuchū's artwork, should be noted. These include Sakuhi shū and Shōun Seikō.

Itō Jakuchū was born on the eighth day of the second month of the sixth year of the Shōtoku era (1716). Nothing is known of his early years, not even his childhood name, but information about his family lineage and relationships has been preserved in various writings, such as the diaries[55] kept at the Rinzai Zen temple, Shōkoku-ji. Jakuchū was born to the owner of a green grocery store called Masugen,[56] named after the abbreviation of his ancestor Masuya Genzaemon. The Itōs came originally from the region called Ōmi. The first generation of this green grocery store owner, Mugiya Genzaemon, and the following

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[55] The diaries at Shōkoku-ji kept by the monks who had taken their turn to do this include Yakusharyō nikki and Sanhiryō Nikki. Each volume of these diaries has the signature of the recorder. Akiyama Mitsuo, "Jakuchū Kenkyū Josetsu: Shiryō-shi," Museum 245 August 1971, 4.

[56] The store was located in what is today the southeast corner of the intersection of *Nishiki-kōji* and *Takakura-dōri*. *Nishiki-kōji*, located north of Shijō Street, is an area where many grocery stores still are present. This area is now called *Nishiki ichiba* (*Nishiki* market) with its symbolic name "the kitchen of Kyōto." Kano Hiroyuki, Itō Jakuchū Daizen (an exhibition catalogue published for the Special Exhibition, Jakuchū held at the Kyōto

successors of this family, including Jakuchū, were always named Genzaemon. According to an obituary, his father Masuya Genzaemon, the third generation of the Itō family, died the age of forty-two (1738) and his mother Seiju at eighty (1779). As the eldest son, Jakuchū[57] had to take over his father's business and became the fourth successor of the store, when he was only twenty-three years old. Hōzō-ji,[58] is located in the street named Urateramachi which runs between the busy quarters of Kawara-machi and Shin Kyōgoku street, belonging to the Pure Land sect of Buddhism (Jōdo shū).[59] His early understanding of Buddhism would have been formed during his youth, and it is possible that as he began to develop his interest in its teachings that also helped his later curiosity in another sect of Buddhism, the Ōbaku Zen, the only Zen sect that contains a strong mixture of elements from other sects.

Although it is not clear when Jakuchū started painting, the Daiten provides the most convincing clue as to when and what factors led Jakuchū to devote himself to painting. In Tō Keiwa Gakanōki (1760), Daiten describes Jakuchū's early artistic activities as follows. "By nature he was inclined to enjoy solitary pursuits, and he patiently labored day by day to develop his talents and expressive means. In this manner, thirty years devoted assiduously to

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National Museum from October 24 to November 26, 2000), (Kyōto: Kyōto National Museum and published by Shōgaku-kan, 2002), 10.

[57] Jakuchū had two other younger brothers, Sōgan and Sōjaku, and a younger sister, Shinjaku. According to the diagram of the family tree created by Akiyama, Jakuchū's younger brother Sogan died at the age of seventy-four (1792) when Jakuchū was seventy-seven years old. Sōgan (Hakusai), also known as a good poet and painter, wrote his farewell poem on his own gravestone (or stele) which was built seven years before his death, and composed the following verses. "I feel lonely to see all the flowers and red and yellow leaves rustling in the gentle wind, and they will soon all be gone." Akiyama, 6.Sōgan (Hakusai)'s painting, titled *Dengaku-zu*, a collection of Mr. Sekiguchi, is said to have been painted a year before Sogan died, the third year of Kansei era. Kobayashi Tadashi, "Itō Jakuchū hitsu Hechima Gunchū-zu," Kokka 948 (1972): 20.

[58] In 1751 (fourth year of Kanei), he built a gravestone to commemorate his father with his mother's name on it in Jakuchū's family temple, Hōzō-ji, a temple of the Nishiyama-school of Pure Land sect Buddhism (Jōdo-shū, Nishiyama-ha).

[59] During the Kamakura period (1185-1333), Jōdo-shū (Pure Land sect of Buddhism), founded by Hōnen (1133-1212), explained the importance of the practice of the *nembutsu* which leads to human salvation through the

painting passed like a single day."[60] Jakuchū is also described as a person who did not have good academic performance, including studying and writing characters. According to Tō Keiwa Gakanoki, Jakuchū had almost no skill in entertaining, having fun, or getting along with others. His only skill was painting. It has been assumed that Jakuchū started to learn painting in his late twenties. Daiten writes in his *Ketsumei*[61] (a memorial text inscribed on the stele in the Shōkoku-ji cemetery) about Jakuchū's early career as a painter. It also describes Jakuchū's serious religious inclination as a man with shaved hair like a Buddhist monk, who never got married and never ate meats. His artistic name (*ishigō*), "Jakuchū" derived from chapter 45 of Lao Zi (Rōshi)'s The Dao-De-Jing, was probably given by Daiten. According to Daiten, Jakuchū got his artistic instruction from a master from the Kanō school. In addition, in the Zoku Shōka Jimbutsushi (Noted Calligraphers and Painters, Continued, 1832), Aoyagi Bunzō noted that Jakuchū worked initially under the artist's name Shunkyō, a circumstance suggesting that he may have received instruction from Ōoka Shumboku (1680-1763) (Enpo era 8-Hōreki era 13), an enterprising artist from Ōsaka with Kanō-school training, who was particularly interested in Chinese painting of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming periods.[62] Ōoka Shumboku[63] was born in Ōsaka and came to be recognized as a major figure. He was given the honorary title of *hokkyō* (Bridge of the Law) in 1720, and later, *hōgen* (Eye of the Law) in 1735. In 1720, he published a copybook entitled Gahon Tekagami, for

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meditation and prayer to the Amitaba. "The *nembutsu* is easy, and it provides universal salvation for all." Kasahara Kazuo, A History of Japanese Religion (Tōkyō: Kōsei Publishing Co., 2001), 160.

[60] "Keiwa" is Jakuchū's *azana* (alternate name). This Tōkeiwaga no Ki, in volume 8, is one of the collections of writing of Daiten, Shōun Seikō in 1760. This English translation is by Hickman. Hickman, Jakuchū, 18.

[61] The texts on this *ketsumei,* written in 1766 (Meiwa 3), also appear in Daiten's other writing, Shōun Seikō.

[62] Hickman, 20. His translation is based on Yasuhiro Sato's Nihon no Bijutsu: Itō Jakuchū (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1987), 256: 20.

persons learning to paint, and followed this with various other works on painting and painting techniques.[64] In the same year that Gahon Tekagami was published, Shumboku was awarded the rank of *Hokkyō* (Bridge of the Law). Another important instructional book written by Shumboku, Gakō Senran (1740), contributed to the advancement of artists actively working in the Ōsaka and Kyōto areas in the late Edo period. Nakamura Shinichirō notes that Shumboku sought individual artistic expression since he did not work under his teachers in the orthodox style of the Kanō school, which had gradually declined at that time.[65] At that time, the popular Kanō school started to lose its attraction since the primary teaching methods only focused on requiring students to copy from the Chinese paintings, especially that of the Song and Yuan dynasty.[66] Shumboku produced a number of *ehon* (picture books) that were originally printed from woodblocks. In these *ehon*, the illustrations derive from several famous Japanese paintings of the Muromachi period as well as from the Chinese paintings of the past. For example, *Hyōnen-zu* (Catching a Catfish with a Gourd) was copied from Josetsu's work.[67]

Because of the lack of sources for Ōoka Shumboku, many contemporary art historians rarely mention his biography. Shumboku has often been referred to as an art critic and the author of instructional art books, rather than as a painter. Some time in the late Edo period, a member of the Kanō school, Asaoka Okisada, a man who also served as a

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[63] Ōoka Shumboku's given names are Aitō and Jakushi with Fujiwara and Takahira as last names, besides Ōoka and Ichiō for the *gō*. Possibly several other names were given to Shumboku. Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten, 48.
[64] Tazawa Yutaka, Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Art (Tōkyō: Kōdansha International, 1981), 208. Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten, 48.
[65] Nakamura Shinichirō, Kimura Kenkadō no Saron (The saloon fosted by Kenkadō Kimura) (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 2000), 42-43. The texts are translated by the author.

government official, published a bulky volume of biographical stories, with copies of a number of illustrations and the signature of each artist. This massive version of Asaoka's work was revised later and became a book called Koga Bikō (Handbook of Classical Painting) which came to be one of the sources favored by scholars. According to Koga Bikō, Shumboku was a self-taught artist from Ōsaka. Another reliable source, Naniwa Jimbutsushi (The History of Noted People in Ōsaka), has a section commenting on Shumboku's career. The following notes are based on this Naniwa Jimbutsushi. Shumboku was interested in painting from the time he was young. He learned the methods of the Kanō school without working under any teacher. Okita Katsunosuke's Ehon no kenkyū[68] (the study on *ehon*) comments on Shumboku's early career as a painter that he was trained under the instruction of Shunsetsu Nobuyuki, or Tsuruzawa Tanzan (1655-1729).[69]

His instructional art textbooks, including Oshie tekagami, Ehon tekagami, Wakan meiga-en, Minchō Seidō Gaen, and Gashi Kaiyō, were admired by many young artists of the time, and Jakuchū was one of them. In Kobayashi Tadashi's book, Painters of the Edo period, there is a chapter discussing Tawaraya Sōtatsu's work, *Hakuzō-zu Sugidō-e* (White elephant), along with an interpretation of this work, where the name of Shumboku appears just as the author of Gashi Kaiyō. Kinsei Kaiga-shi (The History of the Modern Paintings) (1903), written by Fujioka Sakutarō, also has only a few sections about artists, including

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[66] SatōYasuhiro, "Jakuchū ni okeru Mosha no Igi," (Significance of Copying to Jakuchū), Museum 364 July 1981, 19.
[67] Hickman, 34. This illustration of Shumboku is from volume I of Gakō Senran (1740).
[68] Okita Katsunosuke, Ehon no Kenkyū (The Study of *ehon*) (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1950) and Nakatani, "Ōoka Shumboku to Ōsaka," 60.
[69] Tanzan, a native of Kyōto, studied under Kanō Tanyū in Edo. During the Genroku era (1688-1704), having been recommended as one of Tanyu's most outstanding disciples, he was chosen to be an official painter for the imperial court. He produced screen and wall paintings for the imperial palace, which was completed in 1709.

Shumboku, Yoshimura Shuzan, and Tsukioka Settei, actively working in Ōsaka during the Hōreki era (1751-1764).

However, recent erudite study on Ooka Shumboku has been intensively done by several Japanese scholars, including Nakatani Nobuo, a professor of the School of Letters at Kansai University, whose investigations have led to new and meaningful insights to this study. Shumboku and Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1748) might have been prominent figures in the Ōsaka painting circles at the time between the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. The description regarding Shumboku as a person and as a painting teacher mentions that his pedagogy to his disciples was to have them copy the preparatory rough sketches, or the under-drawings (*shita-e*) in monochrome ink created by Shumboku himself. After the basic technique of painting was mastered, students were recommended to copy old masters by using illustration books.[70] The prototypes of paintings that he tried to use for his teaching mainly include Chinese paintings which inspired Jakuchū to study in his profound manner. Both Nakatani and Hickman mention that Shumboku's artistic career was widely ranged; as a cultured man, besides painting, he studied poetry (*waka*), singing (*kyōka*), playing some musical instruments (*ongyoku*), tea ceremony (*kaori-cha* or *kōcha*), and several other types of art.[71] In a way, the artistic cultivation of Jakuchū was nourished not only by Daiten, but Shumboku.

As to Shumboku, he was given the honorary title of *hōgen*. He introduced the style of Kanō Tanyū to Kyōto and became the founder of the so-called Tsuruzawa School of Painting. Tazawa, Biogrphical, 273.

[70] Nakatani Nobuo, "Ōoka Shumboku to Ōsaka Gadan no Seiritsu (Ōoka Shumboku and the foundation of his Ōsaka painting circles)," in Edo Jidati ni okeru Ōsaka Gadan no Kenkyū (the study on Ōsaka painting circles of the Edo period) (Ōsaka: Kansai University, 2000), 58-59.

[71] Nakatani, 59 and Hickman, 36.

Although it is not clear when Jakuchū met Shumboku and began academic instruction under Shumboku, the influence of Shumboku's artistic manner is found in many of Jakuch's works in the *Dōshoku-saie* series, for example. Shumboku instructed Jakuchū in the Kanō style and he also taught Jakuchū some of the Chinese pictorial ideas. As Shumboku himself learned the painting technique from the book,[72] Kaishien Gaden (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), he stressed the importance of this kind of printed art book while teaching Jakuchū. This painting manual book has one hundred and thirteen illustrations by Wang Gai, together with an exegesis on dos and don'ts and indications of stylistic origins.[73] Specifically, it tells about theory, history, and technique, in which various brush-techniques in Chinese landscape painting along with instructions on figure, flower, insect, and bird painting are included. One of the manuals was imported to Japan during the beginning of the Genroku era (1688-1704). Shumboku's Minchō Seiken (Masterpieces of Ming Painting) published in 1746, includes examples of paintings by late Ming artists such as Wen Zhengming, and Wu school painters.

[72] This manual was originally published by Li Yu and compiled by Wang Gai (1679-1705). There are different versions of this manual book introduced to Japan during the Edo period.
[73] Stanley-Baker, 69.

CHAPTER 3

Jakuchū and His Contemporaries of the Eighteenth Century Japanese Society

As noted before, Daiten, a monk at Shōkoku-ji was the one of the people whose ideas allowed Jakuchū to achieve his artistic innovation. Daiten not only served as a good mentor, but he also played an intermediary role, since through Daiten's support, Jakuchū was able to meet various scholars, including painters, tea masters, Buddhist monks, and other men of letters actively working in various fields of study. Because of Jakuchū's unsociable nature, Daiten's guidance must have helped Jakuchū to become acquainted with those individuals whose philosophy or ideas are reflected in Jakuchū's work. Besides Daiten, there is another inspiring figure for Jakuchū. Usually known as Baisaō (an aged man selling tea) Kōyūgai, the former Ōbaku Zen monk Gekkai Genshō[74] (1675-1763) was a man whose humble life and teaching were greatly admired by Jakuchū as well as many other artists and intellectuals of the time. Daiten may have introduced Jakuchū to Baisaō some time around 1760 when Baisaō first saw Jakuchū's paintings and gave him a poem written in calligraphy, saying "your picture communicates with God."[75]

Baisaō, the third son of the medical doctor named Shibayama Mokunoshinjōmyō in the Hasuike region, one of the provinces of Hizen (today's Saga prefecture),on the island of Kyūshu, began studying for the Buddhist priesthood at the age of twelve under the

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[74] Gekkai is his *dōgō* and Genshō his *hōi*. In order to clarify his name, in this paper, Baisaō (his common name used after retiring from the priesthood) is used for the entire discussion.

[75] According to Daiten in Tōkei waga-ki, Baisaō visited Jakuchū's studio, where he was just working on his current project, *Dōshoku saie sai-e* (Animals and Plants in Colors). Baisaō was so impressed with Jakuchū's paintings he gave him this poem consisting of seven Chinese characters, to praise his achievement. Umehara Takeshi, Ningen no Bijutsu 10, Ukiyo to Jōnen (Tōkyō: Gakushū Kenkyū-sha, 1990), 31.

instruction of his master Kerin Dōryū (1634-1720)[76] in Ryūshin-ji in Chikugo. Ryūshin-ji was built by Nabeshima Naoyuki, a son of Nabeshima Naosumi. Baisaō's father, a medical doctor working under the rule of the first generation of the regional leader in Hasuike, a man named Nabeshima Naosumi, died when Baisaō was only nine years old. When Baisaō was thirteen, he and his master Kerin Dōryu visited Mampuku-ji, and Baisaō was admired by a master named Dokutan. When Baisaō was twenty-two years old, he decided to make a pilgrimage from the south to the north of Japan, despite suffering from a disease. During his youth, he made pilgrimages and visited many other Buddhist masters around the country, including Gekkō Dōnen (1628-1701)[77] at Anyō-ji in Ōshu Sendai province, today's Miyagi prefecture, northeast of Tōkyō. While he was still on pilgrimage, he visited priests of the other Zen sects, such as the Soto and Rinzai sects. A few years after coming back from Sendai to the Ryushin-ji in Saga, in the ninth year of the Kyōho era (or Kyōho 7, 1722), he decided to let his follower Daichō Genkō (1676-1768) become the new successor of the temple, and then he left the temple to go to Kyōto. In the ninteenth year of the Kyōho era, Gekkai lived in the eastern part of Higashiyama, Kyōto, and moved to the east side of the Shōkoku-ji. In 1735 (Kyōho 19), he opened his tea shop called Tsūsantei near the Kamo River in Kyōto. He led a new simple life as a tea-seller. He often carried his tea utensils and opened his tea-shop at several different locations, one day near the Tsūtenkyō of the Tōfuku-

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[76] Kerin Dōryu from Chikugo first joined the priesthood in Kongō-ji, the Sōtō sect of Zen Buddhist temple, when he was sixteen years old. Later, in the fourth year of the Kanbun era, he entered the Ōbaku Zen priesthood and a got permission to study with Mu-an, Ingen's successor, and Kōgen. He finally became the successor of Mu-an, a follwer of Dokutan Shōkei (Tu-chan Hsing-ying in Chinese), who was an accompanying member of Ingen who came to Japan in 1654. Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten, 104-5.

[77] Gekkō Dōnen was born in Owari Nagoya (today's Aichi prefecture) and at the age of fifteen left home to enter the Rinzai sect priesthood. At the age of fifty he converted to the Ōbaku sect, studying under Mu-an (Mokuan), a teacher of Kerin Dōryu. In 1696, Gekko was given the Manjū-ji in Sendai province by his

ji and another day in the pine grove in front of the Sanjūsangendō (Thirty-three Bay Hall). His life as a tea seller was not easy because sometimes his customers paid him nothing.[78] In the second year of the Kyōho era (1742), he renounced his Zen name Genkai Gesshō, and named himself Kōyugai, which reflects his livelihood free from any confinement of society, as described in his poem: "I am neither a priest, a Confucian, nor a Shintoist."[79] Waddell's translation of one of Baisaō's verses[80] enables us to appreciate them more thoroughly than some I have been able to obtain. Baisaō once said, "Being a poor man, I have nothing to do with food, and being an old man, nothing to do with a wife. A thin robe of ordinary hemp is a fitting garment for a tea seller's life."[81] The law required people to get official permits whenever they traveled or wished to live outside of their local provincial borders. According to the law of the province of Hizen, Baisaō's native region, for example, people's travel was validated for ten years. In the first year of the Kampo era, at the age of sixty-seven, Baisaō temporarily returned to Hizen from Kyōto and then he formally applied for permission to quit the priesthood. Fortunately, his petition to be released from the ten-year limitation on his stay in Kyōto was accepted, mainly because he was already known to many officials and because his respectful personality was favored by them.

However, because of his advanced age, he could not manage his tea-shop anymore. In 1755 (the fifth year of the Hōreki era) his life as a tea seller ended with his burning of his

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follower and the political leader of the area, Date Tsunamura. In the following years, this Manjū-ji was rearranged and given more financial support from the government and permitted to be a *matsu-dera*.. Ibid, 94-5.

[78] Sueki Fumihiko and Horikawa Takashi. Edo Kanshi sen volume 5, Sōmon (Tōkyō: Iwanami shooten, 1996), 314-5. The texts are translated by the author.

[79] Ibid., 87.

[80] This English translation is based on verses written in the chapter on Baisaō in Kinsei Kijinden (Legends of Eccentrics of Recent Times) (Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko 202, Heibonsha, 1972), 79-80.

portable bamboo cabinet, which contained some of the tea utensils. He decided to burn the tea utensils because he did not want them to be used by anyone else after he died. In his conversational verses called "Senka[82] Shōkyaku no Go (Senka to the Fire)," he wrote "I would hate to think that after I die you (his tea utensils) might be defiled by falling into worldly hands. So I am eulogizing you and committing you to the Fire Samadhi. Enter forthwith amidst the flames, and undergo the Great Change."[83] He spent most of his final days until his death at the age of eighty-nine in the Okazaki area in Kyōto. A few of his writings[84] include Taikyaku Genshi, Baizanshū Chafūryaku (A Collection of Tea Documents from the Plum Mountain)[85], and Baisaō Gego (Verses of the Old Tea Peddler).

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[81] Norman Waddell. "The Old Tea Seller: The Life and Poetry of Baisaō," The Eastern Buddhist IVII, volume 2 (Autumn 1984), 99.

[82] The term *Senka*, with its original meaning of a cave where hermits (den of sages) (*sennin* in Japanese) live, is shown on the side of the portable cabinet of tea utensils (this cabinet is also called kikyoku). Sueki Fumihiko and Horikawa Takashi, Edo Kanshi sen (Selected Artworks of Edo), volume 5, Somon. (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1996),104.

[83] Waddell, The Eastern, 122-123.

[84] The Baisaō Gego, a collection of writings such as poems written in Chinese, was published by the Ōbaku priests Kinryū-Dōjin (1712-1782) and Baizan, the Tendai priest, who were the experts in Chinese literature. The life of Baisaō is probably best described in this Baisaō Gego and Daiten's Shōun Seikō (volume 8). Ban Kōkei (1733-1806)'s Kinsei Kijinden (Legends of Eccentrics of Recent Times), published in 1790, also has a chapter referring to Baisaō's biography, but it is a modern version based on Daiten's Baisaō den in Shoun Seikō, which was all written in Chinese (*kanbun*). The illustration of this book is by Mikuma Katen and the introduction by Rikunyo. The author of Kinsei Kijinden, Ban Kōkei, a son of the merchant class family of Ōmi Hachiman, was a successful businessman, expanding his stores to Edo and Ōsaka, however at age of thirty-six, he gave his business ownership to his adopted son and retired from the business world, as similar to the life of Jakuchū. Kōkei's childhood name was Fujirō Sukeyoshi, was born as the eldest son of Ban Yahyōbei Suketake, the fourth generation of the Yahyōbei, in the west part of Takakura Street of Sanjō-dōri in Kyōto. At the age of eight, Fujirō was adopted into his main family (*honke*) in Hachiman and was given a new name Hikojūrō to become a successor of this wealthy merchant family. His foster father, Ban Shōemon Sukeyuki, died when Hikojūrō was only eighteen years old, and then he got all the responsibility the fourth generation of the Shōemon family. He started to use his other name (*gō*), Kōkei, after retiring from the business and his life as a poet and writer began. Kazama Seishi. Kinsei Wabun no Sekai—Kōkei, Ayatari, Akinari (Tōkyō: Shinwa-sha, 1998),30. His most well-known work, Kinsei Kijinden was published at the age of sixty-three, and three years later the second volume of it was published. Munemasa Isowo, ed. Kinsei Kijinden, Zoku-Kinsei Kijinden, Tōyōbunko series 202, (Tōkyō: Heibon-sha, 1972), 501-502. In the other edition of Kinsei Kijinden, Mori comments on the achievement of Kokei whose writing seems to be less pretentious than most of other *Kanbun*-style (writings of Chinese classiscs) and it makes this book affectionate and interesting. The first edition of this book was published by Iwanami shoten, Tōkyō (1940), Mori Senzō, ed . In addition, people portrayed in this book are widely ranged, because it includes not only renowned people, but also a variety of people such as

Baisaō's charismatic character attracted and helped many people of the time. Along with the rise of Chinese learning and the understanding of Chinese culture, this contributed to the foundation of Japanese society, and also as the education. Eighteenth century Japanese society, the time in which Jakuchū lived, was an environment in which commercialization and urbanization grew, especially in Edo, Ōsaka, and Kyōto areas. The wealth of the cities allowed people to be involved with the various types of cultures imported from China. Especially in Kyōto, the zenith of the cultural growth seen in the eras of Hōreki, Meiwa, Anei, and Tenmei, it was a time when people from various backgrounds- poets, painters, scholars, and philosophers- all shared their spiritual climate with each other. Jakuchū's mentor, Daiten, for instance, as a great scholar of *kanbun*, (Chinese classics) worked on translating official documents from Korean into Japanese, as well as annotating literature.[86] The trade between China and Japan was still active, especially in the ports of Nagasaki, where a number of Chinese books and artworks were brought by the Chinese traders and the Ōbaku priests. Japanese could easily access and learn Chinese cultural traditions from those

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samurai, merchants, peasants, artisans, priests, poets, scholars, and many others. At any rate, according to Kokei, the term *kijin* has two meanings. First, the "ki" of *kijin* means a person of eccentricity. In this case, the *kijin* referred to in the section "The Great Teacher," chapter six (*Daisōshi* in Japanese) of the Zhuang Zi (Chuang Tzu, Sōshi in Japanese), is a man who knows the activities of Nature (T'ien, Heaven) and lives according to Nature. Wing-Tsit Chean, ed. A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton University Press, 1963), 191. Another concept of *kijin* is someone whose behavior and activity seems to be unique enough to be different from most others. Kōkei also tries to define the concept of kijin based on the eclecticism, in which either one thought be exceptionally kijin is considered as kijin, or ones commonly thought to be *kijin* have a spontaneous morality of their own. In other words, anyone defined as *kijin* should be one without possessing any desire and selfishness in doing things.

[85] These English titles of the books are translation by Patricia J. Graham, an author of Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha, 72.

[86] Yamagishi Tokuhei, Nihon Koten Bungaku taikei 89 (Japanese Classic Literature, volume 89) Gozan bungaku-shu: Edo Kanshi-shu (The Collection of the Literature of Five Mountains: The Collection of Chinese Classics of Edo Period) (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1967), 42.

written sources. The Mampuku-ji[87] community especially played an important role in keeping these imports from China. Art-related objects such as books, inkstones, paper, brushes, and, most importantly, paintings, calligraphies, and antiques, were ordered from the "provinces of Nanjing and Fukien." At the same time, Chinese practices in medicine, steeped tea (*sencha*), and cuisine, as well as seal carving, calligraphy, and painting, were becoming widely fashionable.[88]

The visits of Chinese Ōbaku monks to Japan were active during the seventeenth century, because the abbots who served at the headquarters of Ōbaku temple, Mampuku-ji were mostly Chinese. In the eighteenth century, the number immigrating Chinese monks became less than before, and since then the abbots at Mampuku-ji have been selected from the Japanese.[89] Since the middle of the eighteenth century, the style and the customs practiced in the Ōbaku temples became gradually more Japanese.

The intimate relationship between painting, poetry, and calligraphy that prevailed in China also characterized artistic expression in Japan. Although the Tokugawa *bakufu* could control the themes and styles of official art through its patronage, it could never impose its taste among the people. Many innovative artists expressed themselves in ways that were not officially supported by the government. Aesthetic choices imply competition among artists. The rivalry between the *Kansai* (Ōsaka and Kyōto area), or the so-called *Kamigata* region in

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[87] Although Mampuku-ji seems to be known as the main institution that aspired many artists who could access the imported paintings closely, it still maintained some areas closed to the public. Thus, not everything in this collection was accessible to painters. However, it is well known that Gion Nankai (1676-1751), Yanagisawa Kien (1704-1758), and Ike no Taiga (1723-1776) had close ties with this community, the first two of these due to conversions in the family, and Taiga due to having been a child prodigy brought to the temple at the age of seven. Joan Stanley-Baker, The Transmission of Chinese Idealist Painting to Japan (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), 48.

[88] Ibid, 62.

the southwest of Japan, dominated by the cities of Kyōto and Ōsaka, and the Kantō region in the northeast, dominated by Edo (today's Tōkyō), although a contemporary headquarter of the Edo *bakufu*, played a striking central role in Japanese cultural history. Ōsaka, near Kyōto, was also a city of growth in mercantile and commercial activities. Edo did not become an important cultural center until a later time, since the inhabitants of Edo were rather consumers, not producers. Edo was also the military and administrative center of the country and eventually it became an important economic and cultural center.

Residents of Kyōto might have affirmed and identified with the refined aesthetic traditions of the imperial court, which had for centuries resided in Kyōto. On the other hand, residents of Edo, which had no such tradition, actively moved forward to their modernity, and were open to novelty. As matter of fact, people in Kyōto believed that they possessed a more elegant sense of urbanizing than those of Edo. In fact, Kyōto had long held the nation's greatest concentration of population and wealth. In the eighteenth century, Kyōto's prosperity and prestige began to decline in the face of expanding commercial and cultural activity in other cities, especially Edo. Nonetheless, Kyōto's artistic and intellectual culture continued to make it a magnet for innovative artists, particularly those who sought to express through their art their independence from shogunal culture. While some followed Kyōto's ancient imperial and court traditions, others were inspired by new influences from China. With the rise of the *nanga*[90] movement, as well as growing interests in other sinological studies, various art-related items including calligraphy, paintings, and books on art theories

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[89] In 1740 (Genbun era 5), Ryōto became the first Japanese abbot serving at Mampuku-ji.
[90] *Nanga*, with its literal meaning of Southern pictures, originally came from a Chinese school associated with the literati and it is opposed to the more formal academic style of China. Regarding Japanese art, *nanga* is equivalent to the *bunjinga* (literati painting, or *wenren* in Chinese) of the eighteenth century and later.

were the significant influences from China, as mentioned above. Books on art theories or manuals widely available to Japanese artists include Hasshu Gafu[91] (Eight Kinds of Painting Manual), in which series of how-to steps for flowers, animals, and birds are illustrated, based on an emphasis of late-Ming academic styles. The manuals for painting were used by artists of the time, including those learning under the instruction of the Kanō school teachers, as Jakuchū received from Ōoka Shumboku in his youth. Jakuchū's artistic instruction, received by Shumboku, was discussed in the previous chapter.

[91] It is called Bazhong huapu compiled by Huang Fengchi around 1621. It was published in a Japanese edition

CHAPTER 4

Sencha Culture and the Influence of its Philosophy on Jakuchū

Jakuchū's artistic source of inspiration and kinship with the people associated with Chinese-inspired Ōbaku culture is expressed often in his monochrome ink paintings, and his preoccupation with this culture, was initially shaped by his acquaintance with the practice of *sencha*. In the previous chapters I have discussed the relationship between Jakuchū and the literati circle of the eighteenth-century Kyōto society. This chapter will be devoted to one of the trends in that circle: the culture and philosophy of *sencha*, particularly as it flourished among those people. In Kyōto, the scholastic ideologies were influential enough to develop the appreciation of the Chinese literature as well as some other cultural varieties-tea drinking culture, for instance. Tea drinking culture radically shifted after Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591),[92] a tea master of *chanoyu*, centered on *matcha*, died, since another type of tea drinking culture became popular among the Japanese. In Japan, there are two major tea schools contrasting with each other in terms of their different practices and aesthetics. *Chanoyu* and *sencha*. In contrast to *chanoyu*, in which doctrines focused on Zen Buddhism are applied, *sencha* is deeply associated with the teachings of Daoism which will be discussed in the chapter V on Baisaō and Jakuchū. In other words, it would be called the Ōbaku Way of Tea and art works popular at that time, and it became fashionable to display these Ōbaku works

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in 1672, and again in 1710. Stanley-Baker, The Transmission, 65.

[92] Sen no Rikyū was a renowned classical tea master during the Azuchi Momoyama period (1568-1600). He served both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the political rulers of the time, who were fond of *wabi-cha* (a humble tea ceremony based on the aesthetic of *wabi*, a term describing the spirit of Zen. According to Suzuki, *wabi* means "poverty," or, negatively, "not to be in the fashionable society of the time." To be poor, that is, not to be dependent on things worldly—wealth, power, and reputation—and yet to feel inwardly the presence of something of the highest value, above time and social position: this is what essentially constitutes wabi. Suzuki (1959), 23.

in the *tokonoma,* an alcove, where hanging scrolls of paintings and calligraphy, and other kinds of ornamental works, are displayed on the wall. According to Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin), who writes about the schools of tea and their history in chapter two of Book of Tea, its evolution may be roughly divided into three main stages: the Boiled Tea, the Whipped Tea, and the Steeped Tea.[93] The tea ceremony that seems to be popularly known in the West of today is *Chanoyu*, practiced by the *Sen-ke* (Sen family) who uses the powdered-tea and whips it to make the tea called *matcha*. This *matcha* tea practiced by the Sen-ke seems to be more popular than the *sencha* culture, but starting the eighteenth century *sencha* became popular among the people, especially in those of Ōsaka and Kyōto regions, because there was rising disagreement among some practitioners of the *chano-yu*: "tensions between priest-practitioners and secular masters, and criticisms of *chano-yu*."[94] Dazai Shundai (1680-1747), a scholar of the School of Ancient Studies (*kogaku-ha*), pointed out that the practice of *chanoyu* was a threat to the social order imposed by the Tokugawa shogunate, since he felt it encouraged denial of distinctions among the classes in its celebration of poverty in both the aesthetics of the accoutrements and the design of the tearoom, and he objected to the way of inviting guests to the ceremony as pretentious and unnatural.[95] The *sencha*, translated as the steeped tea or green leaf tea, favored by those of the eighteenth century-Kansai areas, was also called *Ingen-cha* (Ingen's tea) which was named after the Chinese Ōbaku master Ingen, the Ōbaku founder in Japan. With the introduction of Chinese culture to the Japanese society

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[93] Okakura Kakuzō, The Book of Tea, foreword and biographical sketch by Elise Grilli, (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1906), 20. It is also in the Japanese version of Okakura's book, Cha no hon, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1953), 33-34.
[94] Graham,"Searching," 35.

at that time, the aesthetic of *sencha* seemed to attract Japanese people who appreciated the Chinese culture, including the customs and the philosophy. Regarding to the philosophy of *sencha*, an important recording, Chakyō ("Cha jing in Chinese and Classic of Tea in English"), written by Riku U (Lu Yu in Chinese)[96] (Tang Dynasty, 733-804), provides detailed information on the tea and its association with Chan Buddhism. As a literati (*bunjiin* or wenren) of his time, he spent his days in thoughtful seclusion, gathering together with like-minded friends to drink wine and tea, compose poems, and paint pictures.[97] Jakuchū's mentor, Daiten Kenjō was the first writer who studied and researched the original Chinese book on Tea in Japan. Later, he also wrote Biography of Baisaō (Baisaō-den) and with the collaboration of Uno Shihin, a scholar of Confucianism, wrote Sokuhi-shū (a collection of poems in which the acquaintances among the literati circle are described). People of the Literati circle, inspired by the life of Baisaō, basically shared their ideas of living their simple life as friends of nature, as opposed to the way of *chanoyu* that was primarily favored by political authority. Nevertheless, Ingen could be considered a father of the practice of *sencha*, based on the fact that Ingen's favorite tea bottle named *shideikan* is still in Shōin-dō, one of the halls in Mampuku-ji.[98]

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[95] Indirect quotations from Paul Varley, "Chanoyu from Genroku to Modern Times," in Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu, ed. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 174-76.

[96] Nunome Chōfū's Chakyō Shōkai (The Detailed Description of Chakyō) and Chugoku no Chashō (Chinese Book on Tea) thoroughly explain about the autobiography of Riku U and the content of Chakyō, which is consisted of a set of three volumes. The first volume has chapters on the origin of tea, the utensils of tea, and the process of making tea. The second volume has a chapter on tea wares. The third volume has chapters on the way of boiling tea, the way of drinking tea, the history of tea, the tea-producing districts or countries, and illustrations of various kinds of tea. Chakyō Shōkai (Kyōto: Tankosha, 2001), and Chugoku no Chasō (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1976), 15-16.

[97] Patricia Graham. Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 13.

[98] Ogawa Kōraku, Sencha Dōgu Meihin-shū (The Dictionary of the Utensils used for the Practice of Sencha), (Kyōto: Tanko-sha, 2003), 166.

As noted before, in the *sencha* culture cultivated by the Ōbaku Zen monks, Baisaō, a former Ōbaku priest, astonished and inspired artists, poets, and scholars of many fields of the time, although he majestically claimed himself to be neither Daoist, Confucian, nor Buddhist. Baisaō's ideals and asceticism served as inspiration for those seeking solace from Japan's hierarchical and increasingly materialistic society.[99] People of the literati circle or the so-called *chajin* (tea-lovers) admired the life of Baisaō, and gathered and drank *sencha* to discuss their philosophical matters or artwork. The definition of "literati (*bunjin*)" as understood by the Chinese and the Japanese varies, according to each some Japanese scholars.[100] In China, "literati" refers to people who is accomplished with the traditional intellectual studies especially those from the upper class, including the royal family and high officials who have passed the official examination. On the other hand, in Japan, "literati painters" of the Edo period are rarely from wealthy family backgrounds, unlike those in China. In China, the term "wen-ren-ha" is closely associated with the class society, while in Japan, *bunjinga* (*Nanga*) were painted by the artists of the Edo period, professionals who envisioned and idealized a China to which they had never traveled. Through such idealized interpretation of Chinese culture, these professional bunjnga painters believed the art was the best way to accomplish their freedom of expression as they tried not to be coerced by the Tokugawa rigid class system.[101]

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[99] Graham, Tea of the Sages, 37.

[100] Yonezawa Takaho and Yoshizawa Tadashi seem to be skeptic about the terminology of "literati" especially when they discuss about the art of Edo. Thus, one needs to be careful to understand this terminology. Tsuji Nobuo, "The Formation of Japanese Literati Painting (*Bunjinga*)," Bijutsushigaku (Art History), volume 7, (March 1985), 3.

[101] This Tsuji's discussion is translated by the author.

Zen Buddhism played an important role in shaping Japanese culture, particularly in the arts, in the educational system, and in the art of tea. Its teaching including the ascetic disciplines and moral values, and was promoted to help people trying to find spiritual guidance. Ōbaku priests were free to interact with the populace at their widely scattered temples.[102] As noted before, the Ōbaku Zen culture brought to Japan by the Chinese Ōbaku priests and merchants grew, and its popularity increased especially during the eighteenth century. Ōbaku monks drank sencha as their daily customs and many Japanese visitors to Mampuku-ji participated in various kinds of Chinese literati customs. It is true that the Japanese had already known about steeped tea before the foundation of the Ōbaku Zen Buddhism in Japan, but the association of *sencha* practice with these highly respected Chinese Buddhist monks helped to increase its status and popularity during the latter part of the seventeenth century.[103]

Baisaō is not only considered the first *sencha* tea master in Japan, but also is renowned for his dedication to works of Chinese poetry, and was closely associated with the Kyōto *bunjin* ("wenren" in Chinese) circle. Jakuchū was one of those who was influenced by Chinese studies, including Confucianism (*Jukyō*) and Daoism (*Dōkyō*). It is unclear why Jakuchū, an artist born into the successful mercantile society, was inspired by Chinese culture. One of his contemporaries, Ike no Taiga (1723-1776), also had diverse interests in the literati circle, especially enhanced and promoted by the practice of sencha. Born in Kyōto, he showed talent from an early age, doing calligraphy and writing with his teachers. As a child prodigy, he started to take lessons in sodoku, the oral recitation of the

[102] Patricia J. Graham, Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 48.

Confucianian classics, with Kōgetsu Bōan.[104] A two-character piece of calligraphy, reading *Kinzan* ("gold mountain" or "gold mine") was done by the two-year-old infant Taiga. His dedication to Ōbaku Zen Buddhism appears in some of his paintings. As in Jakuchū's portrait of Baisaō, Taiga's career as an artist is closely associated with Baisaō's philosophy. Taiga also painted a portrait of the seventy-nine-year-old Baisaō. Baisaō was closely connected with Taiga and his circle; he was a friend of Kimura Kinkadō, a contemporary wealthy art patron and dilettante in Ōsaka, and close to Daiten, who wrote a biography of him[105] as well as of Jakuchū. Daiten gave Taiga lessons in Chinese poetry, and the circles of the two painters may also have overlapped more extensively.[106]

Baisaō, a tea seller as well as a poet, as depicted in Kinsei-Kijinden,[107] attracted many readers of the time with his humble spirit and his life of refined simplicity. The transformation of his life from an Ōbaku priest to a tea seller is noted here, since he believed that the propriety of a Buddhist priest leaving his temple to live in the secular world depended on the mind of the priest involved, not on external circumstances.[108] His ideals inspired those seeking solace from the country's hierarchical and increasingly materialistic society. Jakuchū was one of these who tried to adhere to Baisaō's ascetic life. Born into the family of a successful business owner, his parents always expected him and other member of his family to continue the family business. However, he struggled with finding whether if it

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[103] Ibid., 52.
[104] Melinda Takeuchi (Stanford University). "Ike Taiga: A Biographical Study," in Harvad Journal of Asiatic Studies, 43, 1: 147.
[105] Ibid., 172.
[106] Ibid., 168.
[107] Baisaō's entry in this Kinsei kijin den (Legends of Eccentrics of Recent Times) was written by Ban Kōkei (1733-1806), illustrated by Mikuma Katen (1730-1794), and published in 1790. Kinsei kijinden, zoku-Kinsei

was the right thing for him, somewhat like Baisaō's change to a tea seller. Neither Baisaō nor Jakuchū followed convention.

As a tea seller, Baisaō called his establishment the *Tsūsen-tei*, which literally means "the Path of the Immortal Sages."[109] While he was selling *sencha* in the suburbs of Kyōto, he wrote poems for his friends, both in Chinese and Japanese. As a good friend of Baisaō, Daiten Kenjō,[110] the 114th master at Shōkoku-ji and a scholar of Chinese literature, wrote a biography of Baisaō (Baisaō-gego), in addition to a collection of poems, and books on *sencha*.[111] The name of Jakuchū, derived from chapter 45 of the Dao De Jing, was actually closely associated with one of the tea utensils Baisaō used. The inscription written on the surface of the *chūshi* (fresh water bucket) that Baisaō favored to use was originally given by Daiten. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Jakuchū means "what is most full seems to be empty," and he was named after a line in chapter 45 of Dao De Jing. The full chapter reads:

> What is most perfect seems to be incomplete;
>
> But its utility is unimpaired.
>
> What is most full seems to be empty;
>
> But its usefulness is inexhaustible.
>
> What is most straight seems to be crooked.
>
> The greatest skill seems to be clumsy.
>
> The greatest eloquence seems to stutter.

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kijinden, Tōyō bunko 202 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1972), 78-89. The name of Ike no Taiga also appeared in this writing.

[108] Waddell, 98.

[109] Ibid

[110] Daiten Kenjō (1720-1802) had several other names, including Baisō (his *dōgō*) Kenjō (his *hōi*) and tankai Jikuho. Daiten's teacer, Taichō Genkō (1676-1768), was a brother monk of Baisaō.

[111] Ōtsuki, Mikio. Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten (The Biographical Dictionary of Ōbaku Zen), Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1988, 302.

Hasty movement overcomes cold,

(But) tranquility overcomes heat.

By being greatly tranquil,

One is qualified to be the ruler of the world.[112]

Compared to his previous status as a Buddhist monk, selling or peddling *sencha* in the suburbs of Kyōto province seemed to be honorable profession to Baisaō, who believed in the "aspiration of living like the virtuous sages of China's distant past."[113] His decision to become a tea seller is certainly aimed at achieving his own freedom as a man. In his Baisaō Gusei Sanshū[114] (Three verses on a tea-selling life), he repeatedly describes his honest feeling of how his life had been changed and impoverished, and how he still thinks it is an honorable life for him. He had dedicated his life to becoming a Buddhist priest since he was eleven years old, but now he turned from such a life filled with fame to that of a layman, totally the opposite of his previous profession. The verses give expression to Baisaō's own personal feelings about his world of Zen. These verses are also taken as a metaphor for describing a person who turned away from worldly fame, to a different life in his dotage, as it a priest might do.[115] Baisaō became an inspiration to Jakuchū, as well as to many others seeking freedom and individuality within the country's hierarchical and materialistic society

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[112] Rōshi (Dao De Jing), translated by Ogawa Kanki (Tōkyō: Chuō kōron-sha, 1973), 90
Wing-Tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton University Press, 1963)161.

[113] Graham, Patricia J. Tea of the Sages: The Art of *Sencha* (University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 70. This passage was translated from the Baisaō nenpō (written by Tanimura Tameumi) 1989, Saga: Saga Kenritsu Hakubutsu-kan (Saga Prefectural Museum), 89. For the further reference, note there is still the place called *Baisa-dō* in the grounds of Mampuku-ji, dedicating to the contribution of Baisaō. Abe Rie. Zen no Tera—Rinzai-shū, Ōbaku-zhū, Jūgo Honzan to Kaizan Zenshi (Kyōto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1996), 139.

[114] According to Sueki and Horikawa, these three verses were written in 1742 (the second year of the Kyōho) when Baisaō was sixty-eight years old, the year he formally renounced (*Kanzoku* in Japanese) his priest title and changed his name to Kō Yūgai. His hometown of Hizen asked people to submit an official permit when they traveled outside their province and to go back to their province within ten years. However, in Baisaō's case, to avoid these requirements, he became an attendant to the feudal lord of the Hizen province at the Ōsaka bureau.

governed by the Tokugawa *bakufu*. One of Jakuchū's portraits of Baisaō depicts him as an aged man with a robe called *kakushō-e*,[116] the traditional garment of Daoists, sitting alongside his cases of tea utensils. This portrait bears an inscription by Baisaō, whose prose and poetry was written as gifts for his friends, implying the presence of Zen teaching. The inscription, symbolizing his humble life, was written by Kimura Kenkadō and appears in the upper left corner of Jakuchū's painting.[117]

> One living in this world does not know about the world.
>
> One learning Zen does not understand what Zen is.
>
> I am just carrying around all the tea utensils to boil and sell tea.
>
> I sit along the riverbank in vain, because nobody buys my tea.
>
> Hey!
>
> Who is the one trying to draw my portrait? Well, it does not matter even if people laugh at me.[118]

A collection of Baisaō's poems[119] was published by Daiten, the disciple of Daichō, and Kinryū Dōjin in 1763, and has Jakuchū's portrait of Baisaō at the top of the page. While selling tea, Baisaō wandered and changed his residence many times in Kyōto. He chose such a life because he did not like living as a conventional Buddhist priest, who devotes himself to showing his charitable spirit to the public by emphasizing virtue. Baisaō wrote his poems despite his lowly status in society; peddling tea was for him an honorable profession that

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[115] Waddell, The Eastern Buddhist, 114.
[116] *kakushō-e* is a white robe with black borders, reminiscent of the coloring of Japanese cranes.
[117] This portrait of Baisaō, a hanging scroll (129.3 x 41.4 cm) dated 1796, now belongs to a private collection. Some of Jakuchū's works discussed in this paper belong to private collections. Because of copyright restrictions, these works are cannot to be reproduced in this publication.
[118] Takahashi Hiromi, Kyōto Geien no Network (Tōkyō: Perican-sha, 1988), 31. The translation is by the author.
[119] This collection of poems in Chinese called *Gego* was published in the seventh month of the thirteenth year of the Hōreki era, which corresponds to the year 1763, the year Baisaō died at the age of eighty-eight.

substituted for his unobtainable aspiration to live like the virtuous sages of China's distant past.[120] His verses thematically bear the feeling of nature that refers to legendary Daoist and Buddhist immortals. Taikyaku Genshi starts with prose in which Baisaō's intention or motive is clearly stated as if he was answering the questions given by his customers. Taikyaku Genshi[121] written by Baisaō, has some of his criticisms, pointing out that in the contemporary monastery life one may see even if many Zen monks' physicality is inside the monastery, their pure soul is only intentionally concerned with the virtue and cares of the secular world. He also implies that, in these days, people involved with the secular world do not seem to have a complete understanding of the sensitive nature of things, in which one's desire of having a peaceful life should be based on spontaneous action, not strict regulations or conventions. In other words, his philosophy of selling tea is described as boiling tea, and one cup of tea will purify one's heart so that his or her life can be free from care, without having any consciousness of giving his or her hospitality to others. Another verse of Baisaō admonishing himself, shares a certain view which Jakuchū also revealed in his paintings.

> When mind is not involved in matters
>
> You find suchness everywhere.
>
> When each person can grasp
>
> These truths for himself
>
> His mind is pure and clear
>
> Like heaven's empty void.

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[120] Tanimura Tameumi, "Baisaō nempō (Chronology of Baisaō's Life)," Baisaō (Saga: Saga Kenritsu Hakubutsukan [Saga Prefectural Museum],1983), 89.

[121] Taikyaku genshi or Taigen Kyaku-shi, means answering the questions. According to Daichō, a disciple of Baisaō (his former name as an Ōbaku priest, Gekkai Genshō), it was written when Baisaō was eighty three

---Baisaō[122]

In the same manner, visual artists' works fulfill the ideal of having a spiritual life and express inner visions that they achieve through their enthusiasm for unworldly persons, such as Baisaō. In discussing his works, Jakuchū favors using such words as 'spirit,' and 'spirit-like,' which seem to exist innately in nature. If one closely observes animals, plants, or even scenery, from that moment he or she may capture one's spirit, to spontaneously translate her or his mind to paper.[123] Thus, the interaction with Baisaō might have offered Jakuchū the opportunity to cultivate his keen insight so that he was able to view things in nature with his own eyes, even in the contemporary urbanizing society that was full of chaos.

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years old (the first year of Kyōho, 1716). Kamata Michitaka, Kinsei Kyōto no Toshi to Minshū (City and People in the Modern-day Kyōto) (Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan. 2000), 28-29.

[122] "A Verse to Admonish Myself" translated by Waddell. For the further reference, verses written in Japanese are in Sueki Fumihiko and Horikawa Takashi, Edo Kanshisen (Collection of Chinese poems of Edo period) volume 5: Sōmon (Buddhist priests) (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 127-129.

[123] Kanō Hiroyuki, Jakuchū (preface), 7. The texts are translated by the author.

CHAPTER 5

The Influence of the Syncretic Teaching of Ōbaku Zen on Jakuchū's Work

In addition to Baisaō's inspiration of Jakuchū, especially through his practice of *sencha* and poetry, some other Ōbaku elements affected Jakuchū. According to Baroni, Ōbaku Zen incorporated elements of the Pure Land sect of Buddhism (*Jōdo Shinshū)*, even though these Buddhist sects are considered opposites, the former advocating self-reliance in the quest for enlightenment and the latter promoting total dependence on the power of the Buddha Amida.[124] Ōbaku Zen includes such Pure Land practices and beliefs as *nembutsu* (nien-fo, in Chinese). The practice of *nembutsu* (*Namu Amida Butsu*, meaning "Hail to Amida Buddha,") is always chanted by people who are taught the doctrine of salvation through belief in Amida Buddha.[125] While Pure Land Sect Buddhism suggests people rely upon Amida, Buddha of Boundless Light and Life, Zen Buddhists claim the reliance on Amida Buddha is "the negation of the self-reliance that Gautama Buddha taught to be the only sure path."[126] However, the doctrine of the Pure Land is not totally contrary to that of Zen Buddhism, because the true meaning of Amida is "the Buddha-Substance innate in man, and rebirth into his paradise implies the awakening of the individual's mind to its Oneness with the Buddha-Substance."[127] The masters of Ōbaku Zen Buddhism, as well as the masters of the major Zen sects, incorporated the doctrine of the Pure Land into their Chan practice.

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[124] Baroni, Ōbaku Zen, 106.
[125] The practice of *nembutsu*, invocation in praying of Amida, Buddha of the Western Paradise, is believed to save all beings. The teaching of Pure Land Buddhism, called *Jō-do shinshū* was originally encouraged by the former Tendai priest Kūya of the 10th century A.D., and later systematized by Genshin of the end of the 10th c.
[126] John Blofeld, The Zen Teaching of Huang Po on the Transmission of Mind (New York: Grove Press, 1958), 91.
[127] Ibid.

According to the Zen master Tokichi Jikai Shōnin,[128] the combination of the practice of *nembutsu* and the typical Zen training, *zazen* (seated meditation) in daily practice, effectively works better for people who try to concentrate their mind, rather than having one practice alone.

One of the Zen Buddhist teachings that criticizes the Pure Land Sect is "The Platform Sutra," attributed to the sixth patriarch of Chan, a man named Hui-neng (639-713). According to this sutra, the teaching of the Pure Land sect helps people to reach salvation by means external to themselves, rather than doing this by looking inward. The successors of Hui-neng, several Chan patriarchs, developed their theory that nenbutsu was used practically when people meditate. This recitation is used as an expression that people have faith in and reliance on Amida Buddha.[129] People who follow Zen say "Amida Buddha does not exist as an external reality outside one's own mind,"[130] because the doctrine of Zen Buddhism encourages people to meditate and to seek their own Buddha by themselves (*koshin mida*). The Ōbaku school of Zen Buddhism, however, emphasizes the concept of *nembutsu*, because the practice works effectively as a *kōan*[131] (in Chinese, kung-an). The *kōan* is well known as a teaching method established by Rinzai Zen for focusing communication between masters and their disciples. Questions are usually derived from stories in Zen literature. Among the 1700 known *kōan*s, including Rinzai-roku, Shūtō-roku, and Ingen Zenshi Goroku, recorded

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[128] Tanaka Tomonari, "Ōbaku-shu to Jōdo shinkō ni tsuite" in Ōbaku Bunka, 121, (2000-2001), 262.
[129] Baroni, Helen Josephine, The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc. 2002), 237.
[130] Ibid., 196.
[131] The term "kōan" is the abbreviation of "kofu no antoku."
Zen masters use this method to help their students attain enlightenment (*satori*). It is also the device Zen masters prefer to use when they guide their disciples to attaining buddhahood, (*kenjō jōbutsu*), which already exists in everyone naturally.

by the Zen master Ingen, there might be a good example to help us understand the idea of discovering the true nature of self. Here is one by Ingen.

> Master: "Have you ever been here before?"
>
> Monk A: "No, I have not."
>
> Master: "Please have a cup of tea."
>
> .....
>
> Master: "Have you ever been here before?"
>
> Monk B: "Yes, I have."
>
> Master: "Please have a cup of tea."
>
> .....
>
> Monk C: "I always try to treat everyone who comes to see me, as you do sir. Is this the right thing to do, sir?"
>
> Master: (Striking the table) says, "Give him another cup of tea."[132]

In this conversation between a master and his students, the purpose of a *kōan* is to attain enlightenment and to rediscover one's true nature. In this example, *mu* ("wu" in Chinese), which means no, not, nothing, or without, is emphasized, in contrast with "u," meaning existence, since the Zen master tries to teach his student the best way of treating someone. Non-being (*mu*) in the Zen teaching, also expresses the idea of emptiness, the Buddhist characterization of ultimate reality.[133]

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[132] Serizawa Hōdō, "Ōbaku-shu no Zen towa—Oshie no tokuchō satori e no kangaekata zazen e no kangaekata, tashūtono chigai. (What is the Ōbaku Zen Buddhism?—the characteristic of its doctrine, the idea of *satori* (sudden enlightenment), *zazen* (seated meditation), and the difference between it and other Zen sects including Rinzai and Soto.) Daihō-ron 71 (2), (2004.2), 108-109. The translation is by the author.

[133] Baroni, The Illustration encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism, 229.

The complementary use of these two different practices, *nembutsu* and *kōans*, became popular sometime after the tenth century, between the end of the T'ang and Sung dynasties. For example, Yen-shou (904-976) tried to teach people a syncretic practice by harmonizing all the different schools of Buddhism. With the rising appeal of Chinese culture, introduced by the Chinese Ōbaku monks and other immigrants, those who actively worked in the Kyōto area became interested in depicting some of the imaginary figures of Confucian, Daoist, and Zen legends. Besides portraits of Dharma (Bodhidharma), some of the popular subjects they especially favored included Hotei, Kanzan, Jittoku, and Tekkai, as well as the Chinese Daoist sages.[134] The paintings dealing with the Daoist subjects are called *dōshaku-ga. Dōshaku-ga*, in general, is a painting that combines the depiction of Daoist and Buddhist images.[135] *Dōshaku-ga* of the Yuan dynasty has been especially popular among many Japanese painters, since the Kamakura period. The Daoist and Buddhist subjects appear on some of the figural paintings of Hotei, Kanzan, and Jittoku, who are handled in a manner that has abbreviated outlines of the body with broad strokes.

The syncretic nature of Ōbaku Zen is further characterized by the inclusion of the Daoist idea of immortality. Based on the Chinese folk tales and beliefs, the immortals include Kanzan, Jittoku, Jittoku, and Hotei. They lived as hermits, wandering in the sacred mountains and rivers, searching for freedom and quiet lives.

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[134] These figures depicted in Jakuchū's paintings, with their informal facial expressions emphasize their innocent and happy character. This is one of the favorite Zen-style paintings called *Zenki-ga*, in which Buddhist monks and sages regarded as harmless lunatics (*sansei* in Japanese) are represented. It is believed that the one of the earliest depictions of these two immortals is the painting by Yan (Yen) Hui, a painter of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), whose works greatly influenced many Japanese artists. For example, Minchō (1351-1431), a monk and a painter, copied Yan Hui's paintings, which have been preserved in the Zen monastery, Tōfuku-ji in Kyōto, where he used to work.

[135] Ebine Toshio, "Gendai Dōshaku-ga: Kikakugawa kara no Kansō," Museum, no. 287 (1975), 19.

Jakuchū, an eccentric for his time, longed for the life of an immortal. As the eldest son of a family of high social standing, he was responsible for taking over his family business, especially right after his father died. Even if his life was financially secured and protected, his life as a business owner had never been fulfilling, because he always thought he did not fit into such a competitive society. The following poem, written by Kanzan, mirrors the ideal life that Jakuchū always searched for.

> I settled at Cold Mountain long ago,
> Already it seems like years and years.
> Freely drifting, I prowl the woods and streams
> And linger watching things themselves.
> Men don't get this far in the mountains,
> White clouds gather and billow.
> Thin grass does for a mattress,
> The blue sky makes a good quilt.
> Happy with a stone underhead,
> Let heaven and earth go about their changes.[136]

Paintings associated with the themes of Kanzan and Jittoku usually depict them as untidy in appearance, as shabbily dressed and with a caricature-like facial expressions. Typically, Kanzan and Jittoku are depicted with grotesque-looking faces, with big mouths almost splitting to their ears, big eyes, and deep wrinkles, described with dense brush strokes. Some of the Japanese painters of the eighteenth century also favored depicting these legendary Chinese immortals, Kanzan and Jittoku. Soga Shōhaku's (1730-1781) depiction of

[136] Introduction by Stephen Addiss, One Thousand Years of Art in Japan (London: Colnaghi Oriental, 1981), 46.

the grotesque, ghost-like figure of Jittoku,[137] for example, appears to emphasize his anatomical features.[138] On the other hand, Jakuchū's depiction of *Kanzan and Jittoku* is low-key in its expression and brush strokes, and it has a playful character, suggesting Jakuchū's sense of humor. Jakuchū's Jittoku-zu, including in *Jittoku oyobi Keizu*[139] (the Zen Monk Jittoku and Domestic Fowls) (Plate 8), the three hanging scrolls in Zenkyo-an temple, Kyōto, and *Kanzan and Jittoku*[140] (Plate 7) in the Manyō-an Collection, Dr. Kurt Gitter, New Orleans, exemplify the technique of splashed ink style, originally practiced by some of the Ch'an Chinese painters, Liang Kai (Ryōkai) in the Southern Song Dynasty, and Mu-qi. Liang Kai's *Kanzan Jittoku-zu*[141] (Plate 9), a collection in MOA, Shizuoka Prefecture especially is executed with a mode of spontaneous impression, because the expressive handling of brushwork in simple bold strokes, a technique called *genpitsu byōsha*[142] (which means a mode of abbreviated brushwork, is called Jian Bi style in Chinese[143]) as seen in the outlines of the drapery of Kanzan and Jittoku. At the same time, the contrast of dark tone of ink and almost white empty space in the center of the painting, is articulated, as in Liang Kai's. The relatively thin dark outline of the sleeves, and the brushstroke of the unkempt hair of Jakuchū's Kanzan, Jittoku, and Tekkai, as conventions for depicting the appearance of

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[137] Shōhaku's *Kanzan Jittoku-zu* is a pair of two-fold screens, painted with ink on paper. This work might have been dated between 1759 and 1764, according to Miyajima Shin'ichi and Sato Yasuhiro's interpretation. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Japanese Ink Painting (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985),158-159.

[138] Hickman. The Paintings of Soga Shōhaku (1730-1781), a Ph. D. Dissertation (Massachusetts: Harvard University 1976), 141.

[139] Copied with permission.

[140] Copied with permission.

[141] Copied with permission.

[142] Tanaka Ichimatsu, Tanaka Ichimatsu Kaiga-shi Ronshū (The Collected Writings on Art History by Tanaka Ichimatsu) (Tōkyō: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1986), 266.

these eccentrics, bear a close resemblance to the illustration of Ōoka Shumboku's Soga Binran (Digest of Ehon Tekagami,[144] three volumes in total, 1761), a collection of Ōsaka Prefectural Nakanoshima Libray. The manes of the horses are drawn with a wet brush and rendered in shabby and abbreviated brush lines, shown in Jakuchū's *Jittoku-zu*, from one of the three hanging scrolls of *Jittoku oyobi Kei-zu*[145] (Zen Monk Jittoku and Domestic Fowls) (Plate 8), a collection of Zenkyo-an in Kyōto.

In Jakuchū and Shōhaku's *Kanzan and Jittoku-zu*[146] (Plate 10), designated as an important cultural property, now kept in Kōshō-ji, and Kanō Sansetsu's (1589/90-1651)[147] depiction of the same immortals in Shinshō Gokuraku-ji Shinmyōdō might be the most well known works on this theme. The inscription in Jakuchū's *Kanzan Jittoku-zu* was written by the Ōbaku priest, Musen Jōzen (1693-1764), who was also accomplished in painting and poetry. Influenced by Daichō Genkō (1678-1768), a disciple of Baisaō (Gekkai Genshō), Shūnan Jōyu (1711-1767), Goshin Genmyō (1713-1785), and other intellectual literati Ōbaku monks of the time, Musen Jōzen, and other Zen monks and Shingon priests gave their inscriptions on some of Jakuchū's paintings.[148] The inscription in Jakuchū's *Kanzan Jittoku-*

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[143] Ishimori Ken, "Shingen henge—Fukken no gaka, Chen Zihe ni miru Mindai Dokyo Suiboku-ga no tenkai (The Specter of God and Illusion—The Development of Monochrome Ink Paintings on Daoist subjects seen in the Works of Chen Zihe, an artist from Fukien Province)." Bijutsu Kenkyū. V. 382 (March 2004), 3.

[144] Ōsaka shiritsu bijutsukan (Ōsaka Municipal Museum of Art), Kinsei Ōsaka Gadan (Ōsaka Painting Schools in the Edo Period) (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Municipal Musuem of Art, 1983), 163.

[145] Copied with permission.

[146] Copied with permission.

[147] A painter of the Kyōto branch of the Kanō School in the late Momoyama and early Edo periods. Sansetsu was a disciple of the painter Kanō Sanraku and married Sanraku's daughter and was adopted into the Kanō family. Tazawa Yutaka, Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Art (Tōkyō: Kōdansha International, 1981), 127.

[148] Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka Jinmei Jiten, 348 and 98. Particulary, Jakuchū's claose acquaintace with Hakujun is identified with the inscription of Hakujun, in the hanging scroll in colored ink, *Enkō Tekitō-zu* (dated as 1776) (Monkeys and Peach Tree). Jakuchū was also given Hakujun's garment (described as *heii*, with its meaning of old cloth owned by others) for his honor. It might be the event that Jakuchū entered his priesthood at his late seventy. Katō Shōshun, "Itō Jakuchū to Soga Shōhaku o meguru zensō," Hanazaono Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō (Annual Report of Hanazono University), no. 123 (March 1991),122.

zu reads: Drowsily dozing they enter *Samadhi*, Broom of twigs entirely forgotten; Forgotten is the journey of ten years leading here. Flowers fall, water flows, the world is vast and vague.[149] This painting is one of the earliest collaborative works of Jōzen and Jakuchū. The image of Kanzan and Jittoku represented here shows some emphasis on geometric shapes, especially that of the triangular. These two legendary figures, one reclining on the ground, the other seated, bear a close resemblance to the composition in some other works of the artists of the eighteenth century. First, the composition of Jakuchū's *Kanzan Jittoku-zu* is very similar to that of Unpitsu Soga (Illustrated Book for Handling the Brush) (Plate 11),[150] by Tachibana Morikuni[151] (1679-1748), a Kanō painter and illustrator actively working in Ōsaka. Ōoka Shumboku (1680-1763) was sometimes described as a competitor of Morikuni, who was also dedicated to producing *e-hon* as Shumboku did. In both Jakuchū's and Morikuni's works, the two eccentric figures, peacefully lying and seated on the ground, demonstrate the strength of the geometric shape, that of the triangular. Having stressed a sense of dimensionality, the shapes of the characters extended to the right and left, and against a simple background are dominated by the horizontal long line of the broom placed in front of them.

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[149] This English translation is based on Stephen Allee and also another translation by Michael Cunningham mentioned in Stephen Addiss and some other authors' book Myriad of Autumn Leaves: Japanese Art from the Kurt and Millie Gitter Collection, (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art1983).

[150] According to Asaga Hirōshi, a curator at Ōsaka Municipal Museum of Art, the this Morikuni's books (three volumes in total) are now kept in the private collection, a book store in Kyōto.

[151] Tachibana Morikuni (Yūzei) was also a writer publishing some books. Born in Ōsaka, he studied painting under the instruction of Tsuruzawa Tanzan (1655-1729), a pupil of Kanō Tanyu (1602-1674). Morikuni copied many sample pictures of the Kanō school and then printed and published them in the form of a small book. Laurence P. Roberts, A Dictionary of Japanese Artists: Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Prints, Lacquer (Tōkyō and New York: Weatherhill), 112.

Second, with *Hotei in a Boat*[152] (Plate 12), painted by Reigen Etō (1721-1785), a Rinzai priest who studied with Hakuin Ehaku (1685-1768) in Kyōto,[153] he began to focus on a ten-year period of meditation, when he went back to his former temple because of the death of his teacher. Reigen studied under the instruction of Hakuin, and received an *inka* (certificate of enlightenment) from his master in about 1759. Reigen became the first priest who followed and learned the major reforms and methodologies of Hakuin.[154] Reigen, as a Zen priest and a painter, inspired by Hakuin's artistic vocabulary, incorporated some of the tradition of Zen painting, including the brush technique and composition, into some of his monochrome ink paintings. For instance, his *Hotei in a Boat* (Plate 12) and Hakuin's work[155] (Plate 13) of the same title as Reigen's, share some artistic conventions. Although the portrayals of this common subject of Hotei are depicted in a joyful and humorous manner in both works, Reigen's has a more simplified brush outline and composition, compared to Hakuin's. Hotei lying on the boat and putting his elbows under his chin is portrayed with a sense of humor. His robe filled with dark tones of ink almost seems to merge into the frame of the boat. Needless to say, Hotei represented as a plump character with a large bag on his back employs a deeper meaning which is hardly describable in words. The legendary life led by this figure, free from all desires and devoted to enjoyment of the laws of nature,[156]

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[152] Copied with permission.
[153] Reigen was born near Kyōto and received his early Buddhist training at Zensh-ji in Tamba. Lisa Rotondo-McCord, ed. An Enduring Vision, 292.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Copied with permission.
[156] Awakawa Yasuichi, translated by John Bester, Zen Painting (Tōkyō: Kōdansha International, 1971), 36.

symbolizes the ideal man of Daoism. This big bag filled with the hope of good fortune also represents "emptiness, his laugh, enlightenment."[157]

Before discussing the paintings by Jakuchū, the history of how these legendary eccentrics were transmitted from China to Japan needs to be mentioned. The oldest written document is the preface allegedly written by Ryōkyū In, a high official of the era between the Tang and Five dynasties (9^{th}-10^{th} century A.D.). In this document,[158] Ryōkyū In says he actually met Kanzan, Jittoku, and their Zen master Bukan, who lived near the temple of the Tendai sect, Kokusei-ji,[159] and describes their daily behavior. It also says that Kanzan and Jittoku wrote poems on a bamboo tree, on rocks, on walls, and in other places. However, some scholars have pointed out that these documents of Ryōkyū In must have been fabricated by someone, since Ryōkyū In did not exist. Thus, those poems recorded in Ryōkyū In's document may not be by Kanzan and Jittoku. However, regardless of this, most of the *Kanzan and Jittoku-zu* painted by both Chinese and Japanese artists are based on the Ryōkyū In stories. Some time before the Northern Song Period, a couple of new things were added to the original versions of the Kanzan and Jittoku stories. During the Northern Song Period, they were revised further and were eventually recorded in the historical document of Zen Buddhism, Keitoku Dentō roku which became an influential document.[160] According to

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[157] Addiss. Zenga and Nanga. 38.

[158] For the interpretation of the story of Kanzan and Jittoku, according to Furuta Shima, in modern days, a Japanese writer, Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) wrote a story based on the three hundred verses, Kanzan-shi Sendai Kimon (three volumes in total) annotated by Hakuin Ekaku in 1746. These three volumes of Kanzan-shi Sendai Kimon (Han-shan Shih) now are in the Ōgai Collection, the Library of University of Tōkyō. Suda Kiyotsugu and Koizumi Koichiro, "Bibliographical notes," in Mori Ōgai, Ōgai Rekishi Bungaku-shu (Collection of the historical literature by Ōgai), volume 4 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 2001), 477.

[159] Kokusei-ji was built by Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty (589-618). "Kanzan and Jittoku." Translated by Kikuoka Tadashi. Traditions. 3.2, 10 (1980): 16.

[160] Yamamoto Hideo, "Kanzan Jittoku no sekai," in Tankō, v. 54, no. 659, (April, 2000), 15-16.

these Chinese documents, Kanzan[161] was a ninth-century poet who gave up human society and wandered around 'Cold Mountain' (Kanzan), writing on rocks and leaves. Jittoku was the kitchen sweeper at a nearby Buddhist temple, who befriended the poet and occasionally brought him kitchen scraps to eat.[162] Their unusual behaviors were intended to describe the principle of Zen. As in the story of Kanzan and Jittoku, Kanzan is identified as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (*Monju*), while his friend Jittoku was Samantabhadra (*Fugen*). The lives of Kanzan and Jittoku had a powerful effect on Jakuchū himself, since they symbolize enlightened ones uncontrolled by any social convention.[163] Traditionally, in the pictures of Kanzan and Jittoku, there is a depiction in which Kanzan holds some scrolls (*makimono*), while Jittoku has a broom (*hōki*) in his hands. The scroll symbolizes letters, philosophy, and knowledge, while the broom is for action and practice.[164] Thus, the harmonious balance between one's intellect and practice is believed as the most important matter for people's lives. The idea of Nyoraizō[165] (Tathagata Garbha in Sanskrit), with its meaning the possibly innate in each sentient being to attain buddhahood, in Mahayana Buddhism, reflects Jakuchū's conception of this idea and even serves as a metaphor for the quest of one to become enlightened.

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[161] Bakuzan Sakaki, a contemporary Japanese calligrapher, writes on his journey to visit the temple of Kanzan (Kanzan-ji) in Suzhou (Soshū in Japanese), China, and raises a question: "Why does a sense of aesthetic in each human being always change as time passes on, although the figures Kanzan and Jittoku are favored for all time?" Sakaki Bakuzan, "Chūgoku Kenbunki (Record of Personal Experiences in China) 18-Kanzan-ji to Kanzan Jittoku," in Nihon Bijutsu Kōgei. v. 501, (June, 1980), 63. The translation is by the author.

[162] Introduction by Stephen Addiss, One Thousands Years of Art in Japan, (London: Colnaghi Oriental, 1981), 46.

[163] Kanzan and Jittoku also claimed that they cannot explain their own understanding of what the ideas of society, history, intelligence, and anything important in human society are. Kawashima Hidekazu, "Kanzan Jittoku no sekai," Nihon bungei kenkyū, volume 25, (June, 1973), 42.

[164] Kusumoto Bunyū, Kanzan Jittoku, v.1, (Tōkyō: Kōdansha shuppan kenkyūjo, 1985), 14.

Another popular figure favored by the artists of Jakuchū's time was Hotei (Budai or Putai in Chinese), whose real name is Keishi (Qici in Chinese). His biography was written in Sō Kōsōden (Song gao sen shuzan in Chinese), which can be translated as the Legends of High Priests of the Song Dynasty. According to this source, Hotei, a priest, lived on a mountain in Mingzhou and often strolled through a town nearby, carrying his large cloth bag (called Hotei in Japanese). Certainly, his name originally came from this daily habit. In Japan, the name of Hotei is well known as one of the members of *Shichifukujin*, the Seven Gods of Good Fortune. He is also considered as an incarnation of *Miroku* (Maitreya). This cheerful Buddhist monk with his large exposed belly is often caricatured as the "Laughing Buddha." In almost all Japanese paintings Hotei is depicted as a smiling man with a large, bare belly, and wearing oversized garments. In addition, he always carries a big cloth bag and long wooden stick. He is shown either seating, walking, or even dancing. During the Edo period, Hotei was commonly depicted with groups of children, who often play with Hotei, standing and climbing up the back of Hotei's big, rounded body. Unlike other types of Zen painting, which have more religious elements, *Zenki-ga*[166] is more mundane and more informal in its style. The basic question raised here is why the monochrome paintings of Zen Buddhism focus on the portraits of Zen masters in these *Zenki-ga*, unlike the paintings of other Buddhist sects, which favor the depiction of *bosatsu* (bodhisattva in Sanskrit) wearing their distinguishing dress, including long scarves, crowns, necklaces, and some other decorations. Indeed, Zen Buddhism teaches people to endeavor and to achieve

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[165] The idea of *Nyoraizō*, is also taught as "Issai Shujyō Shiyū Bussho" in Japanese. Yamada Fumio, "Kanzan Jittoku ni tsuite," Hirosaki Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Kenkyūkiyō crossroad (Bulletin of the Studies by the Department of Education, Hirosaki University), no. 3 (March, 2001), 62.

enlightenment through their own long efforts, along with "Kenshō Jōbutsu's idea of their true nature in attaining buddhahood."[167] Jakuchū's two monochrome ink paintings of *Hotei*, in contrast with his well known realistic representations of animals and plants in colors (*Dōshoku sai-e*, Plate 2-5), have a light touch and a playful, warm sense of humor. In *Hotei Karako-zu* (Hotei and Boys), the large, mountain-like figure of Hotei seated on the ground is surrounded by three little boys, who sit beside to Hotei. Hotei is defined as the God of children and of merchants, who believe that his bag is full of goodies.[168] Later, Hotei came to be considered an incarnation of *Miroku* (Maitreya), the Buddha of the Future, and he is second to Dharma (*Daruma*), commonly used as one of the most favorite themes in Zen paintings. One of the boys standing right on top of Hotei's head holds a paper fan, and seems to make a certain gesture as he balances himself with Hotei's long wooden stick. The other work on the same subject, *Hotei Toka-zu*[169] (Hotei Crossing a River) (Plate 14), now in Daikōmyō-ji, Kyōto, depicts Hotei carrying a big bag on his back. As in Jakuchū's other works of Chinese legendary figures, such as Kanzan, Jittoku, and Tekkai, he never depicts the face from the front; instead they are shown in looking up at the sky or turning their backs to the viewer. In a way, Jakuchū's outstanding visual language captures the essence of his favorite Zen themes by depicting these eccentrics and legendary figures with their backs to the audience, since this compositional idea seems to be effective enough to emphasize these unworldly personalities. In the case of the second Hotei painting, the composition is strengthened by leaving the center of the figure almost blank, while the outlines and the oval

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[166] *Zenki-ga* , as also explained in a footnote in the previous chapter, is one of the favorite Zen-style paintings, in which Buddhist monks and sages are regarded as harmless lunatics, called *sansei* in Japanese.
[167] Baroni, Encyclopedia, 188.
[168] Addiss. Zenga and Nanga, 38.

shape of the bag inspire the smooth and flowing quality of the calligraphy. Jakuchū's monochrome ink paintings and these subjects, in general, are ideal for Zen, in which the humanistic view of the world and the state of one's mind are expressed fully with only one color.[170] In other words, the characteristic of Zen Buddhism simply focusing on the endeavor to attain enlightenment through one's own efforts (*jiriki*) is reflected in these themes embodying the artists' personality and inner statement. At the same time, Jakuchū's own style of dynamic simplicity shares the spirit of Zen Buddhism with his individualistic and lively brushwork. Among the monks and painters of various sects of Zen Buddhism, *zenki-ga*, emphasizing one's *Jikishi Ninshin Kenshō Jōbutsu,* meaning "Direct pointing to the mind, seeing one's nature and becoming a Buddha,"[171] became more popular than Buddha and Bodhisattvas, which had been the major religious subject for the Buddhist paintings.

Jakuchū's *Tekkai-zu*[172] (Plate 15) also has an inscription by Sennan Jakushō (also named Sennan-sō, at the end of the inscription), a priest of the Shingon sect[173] at Nanshō-ji in Sakai, Ōsaka. It reads: "His flesh exposed to the many long years, he has entered the worlds of inaction and quietude. Blowing his spirit out into space, his days are spent pleasantly in diversions in the immortal realm where no one grows old."[174] This pair of paintings depict the two Chinese immortals (*sennin* in Japanese), Tekkai (Li Tieguai in Chinese) and Jittoku

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[169] Copied with permission.
[170] Kanazawa Hirōshi, "Kanzan Jittoku-zu," in Kobijutsu. Volume 27 (1969): 34.
[171] Baroni, Encyclopedia, 161.
[172] Copied with permission.
[173] "Shingon" with its meaning of true world teaching, was originally based on the Lotus Sutra and two other sutras including *Dainichi kyō* and *Kongōchō-kyō*. The philosophical idea of this esoteric Buddhist sect of the Shingon-shū was developed during the first or second century A.D. in India brought to China in the early eighth century and finally introduced to Japan in the ninth century.
[174] Based on Hickman's English translation, The Painting of Jakuchū, 148.

(Liu Haichan).[175] The painting of *Jittoku* has an inscription by the second Ōbaku abbot at Kaiunzan Hōzō-ji in Narutaki, Kyōto, Gessen Jōtan (1718-1769),[176] who was closely associated with *sencha* and trained under Baisaō. This painting must have been done before Jōtan died in 1769, so that Jakuchū would have completed it some time in his early fifties.[177] The inscription says, "Having lost his body, he was forced to inhabit the corpse of one who had died of starvation. This was not his original body, of course. [But] how could people be aware of this?"[178] In this playful and humorous portrait, the immortal, Tekkai, his face depicted with a moustache and beard, looks up to the sky and purses his mouth to blow out his own spirit, which is represented as a little figure dancing and raising his hands. There are two painters whose works might be compared to that of Jakuchū. Although it is not clear whether Jakuchū could have seen and studied their works, Satō points out that one possible source for this portrait of *Tekkai* may be Fugai Ekun (1568-1654)'s *Hotei Pointing at the Moon*[179] (Plate 16) and Ogata Kōrin's[180] (1658-1716) *Kemari Hotei-zu*[181] (Hotei Kicking a

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[175] Although these two paintings of *Jittoku and Tekkai*, now belong to a private collection, there are paintings of the same subjects that used to be owned by the Yasuis, who are said to be the relatives of Itō Jakuchū's family. The name, Yasui Genroku, an owner of a general store in Nishiki Street, Kyōto, and a father of Yasui Genji, a former professor of the French Studies at Waseda University, is shown on the paintings of *Jittoku and Tekkai*. These are possibly the same ones discussed in this paper. Yasui Genji, "Shinseki dattta Itō Jakuchū (Itō Jakuchū, My Relative), Geijutsu Shinchō, no. 6 (June, 1971), 151.

[176] Gessen Jōtan entered the Buddhist world under the instruction of his master, Hyakusetsu Genyō (1668-1749), a monk-painter (who mainly painted *chinsō*, portraiture of Zen masters). Gessen, as a man of letters, accomplished to practice poetry, calligraphy, and painting. Ōtsuki, Ōbaku Bunka, 99-100

[177] Umehara Takeshi and Tsuji Nobuo, Suiboku-ga no kyoshō (The Master of the Monochrome Ink Paintings), v. 9, Jakuchū (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1994), 105. The translation is by the author.

[178] The texts are based on Hickman's translation.

[179] Copied with permission.

[180] Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716), a painter of the middle Edo period, was the second son of Ogata Sōken, who was the seventh son of a wealthy clothier known by the shop-name Karigane-ya. Kōrin's younger brother, Kenzan was also famous as a maker of the type of pottery known as *Kenzan* ware (*Kenzan-yaki*). His parents' store used to be called upon to produce high-quality articles of clothing for the Toyotomi and Tokugawa shogunate families. Kōrin had received instruction in painting from his father, and later continued his study under the instruction of a painter of the Kanō school, Yamamoto Sōken. In his youth, he and his brother inherited a huge fortune after their father died, but several years later, they faced financial difficulties and decided to establish

Ball) (painted around the late 1690s) (Plate 17), in which Hotei cranes his neck toward the ball. These two artists, Kōrin and Jakuchū, are often viewed as ones who grew up in similar circumstances, since both were sons born into wealthy merchant families of Kyōto, and shifted their careers into being painters after being merchants. The composition of this Hotei painting is very similar to Jakuchū's *Tekkai.*[182] In both Jakuchū's and Kōrin's works, the outline of the robes painted in gray creates a sense of volume. In each composition, there is certain amount of space in the center. These two artists skillfully arranged subjects and empty space, which are expressed through the rhythm of the lines, shapes, and brush strokes. The circular shape which is closely associated with an *ensō*[183], the Zen circle, favored by many Zen painters, appears in Jakuchū's and Kōrin's works. An example of an ink painting representing *ensō* is a work by Tōrei Enji (1721-1792) (Plate 18)[184], in Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art. As a student of Hakuin Ehaku (1685-1768), an heir of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism and a painter of the middle Edo period, Torei was interested in the native Japanese religion, Shintoism, and also propounded the fundamental unity of Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The depiction of a large circle in dark, monochrome ink and strong brushwork represents the meaning of Buddha, or nothingness, or both. The emptiness of the circle shown here is explained by the following poem, inscribed

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themselves as the artists. Influenced by the works of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the other artists of the Sōtatsu school, Kōrin combined the Sōtatsu style with the rapid brushwork used in the Kanō school. Fujioka Sakutaro comments on the eclectic artistic feature of Kōrin's style in Jakuchū works. Fujioka Sakutarō, Kinsei Kaiga-shi (Tōkyō: Perican-sha, 1983), 116.

[181] It is from the Collection of Idemitsu Museum in Tōkyō. Copied with permission.

[182] Miyajima Shinichi and Sato Yasuhiro, Japanese Ink Painting (Los Angles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985), 153.

[183] *Enso* symbolizes the moon, the all, the void, and a number of other concepts, as the movement of the circle has no beginning and also symbolizes the movement of the Way, the timeless nature of reality. This symbol was usually depicted by Rinzai monks rather than Ōbaku monks. Addiss, Ōbaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy (Lawrence: University of Kansas), 1978. Catalogue number: 33.

on Torei's work: "In heaven and on earth I alone am worthy of humor.[185] The influence of Shintoism is evident in the seashell-like form attached at the end of his signature. His use of an organic shape in his work shows the influence of the idea of animism emphasized in Shintoism. The figure of Hotei, with his big belly sticking out from his body, and with the large oval shape of his ears, is simply portrayed. If I may go back to the discussion of the comparison between Jakuchū and Kōrin's works, Kōrin also worked on painting *Kanzan Jittoku-zu*, now a collection of MOA in Shizuoka prefecture, Japan. According to Yamane Yūzō, the style exhibited in *Kanzan Jittoku-zu*[186] (Plate 19), a hanging scroll, by Kōrin, is derived from Tawaraya Sotatsu's[187] monochrome ink paintings of the same subjects. Kōrin employed the Sōtatsu style as the basis for his work, but combined it with the rapid brushwork used in the Kanō school, and with realism.[188] While Sōtatsu painted separately these Chinese eccentric characters in the pair of two hanging scrolls, Kōrin depicted them on a single sheet of paper, similar to *Kanzan and Jittoku* [189] by Kōgan Gengei (1747-1821) (Plate 20), a collection of New Orleans Museum of Art, and by Suiō (1717-1789) (Plate 21), a collection of the Seattle Art Museum. In contrast with the composition shown in Kōrin's other work, *Kemari Hotei-zu*,[190] in which the central view point is placed in the upper half of

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[184] Copied with permission.
[185] This English translation of the poem is done by Jonathan Chaves. Addiss. Zenga and Nanga: Paintings by Japanese Monks and Scholars (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1976), 64.
[186] Copied with permission.
[187] Sōtatsu (the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown), a painter of the Momoyama and early Edo periods, is well known as a painter whose paintings incorporated gold or silver, fan paintings, ink paintings, and large-scale screen and wall paintings. Tazawa, 255-256. Kōrin especially became attracted to the works of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the other artists of the Sotatsu school, besides his understanding of the Edo branch of the Kanō school.
[188] Tazawa, Biographical Dictionary, 194.
[189] Copied with permissions.
[190] This work is believed to have been painted around 1700, when Kōrin was about forty-three years old, a couple of years before he was given the honorary title, *hokkyō*. Nakamachi Keiko, Shinchō Nihon Bijutsu

the long vertical scroll, and its pictorial composition is organized in dualities and repetitions of four big and small circles from the center of the picture to the remaining top of it, in *Kanzan Jittoku-zu*, the main subject is largely depicted in the center of the scroll, as influenced by one of the compositional techniques developed by Sōtatsu. However, the character's cloth and the broom are rendered in the dynamic simplicity of brushstroke, whose technique was Kōrin's own.[191] It seems more than likely that Kōrin intended to organize and simplify the composition, in order to clarify each motif depicted in the picture.[192] The Japanese word, *kemari*, was one of the sports that were popular among the aristocrats. As mentioned above, the depiction of these Classic Chinese subjects was especially popular in the seventeenth-century Kyōto, especially among intellectuals. A motivation for depicting these subjects during Kōrin's, and even Jakuchū's, time would have been the stylistic ideas of Shōkadō Shōjō[193] (1584-1639), a painter and calligrapher of the early Edo period. Having been instructed under the Kanō school, he was skilled in Chinese style ink paintings, which were executed in a rapid, unconstrained style that derives from the Zen painting of the Song and Yuan periods, in addition to a special style of calligraphy derived from the style of the

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Bunko 8: Ogata Kōrin (Tōkyō: Shinchō-sha, 1996), 77. Kobayashi Tadashi, Nihon Bijutsu Zenshū, v. 18: Sōtatsu to Kōrin, Edo no Kaiga II. Kōgei I (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990), 153.

[191] Yamane Yuzō, Kōrin Kenkyū (The Study of Kōrin's Works) (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron-sha, 1995), 123.

[192] Hayashi Susumu, Kaiga no Shini: Nihon Kinsei Kaiga no Zuzōgaku (The True Meaning of Painting: Iconography of the Japanese Painting during the Modern Times) (Ibaragi: Hayashi Keiko [this book is not for a sale], 1999), 149.

[193] Shōkadō Shōjō was born in Sakai, Ōsaka. He became a follower of the court official and calligrapher Konoe Nobutada, but later became a *shasō* (Shinto-Buddhist priest) of the Shingon sect and stayed as a resident monk at the Hachiman Shrine at Otokoyama south of Kyōto, living in a residence called the *Takimoto-bō*. Shōkadō is traditionally believed to have studied painting under Kanō Sanraku. Shōkadō was skilled in both Chinese style ink painting and the *Yamato-e* style of polychrome painting. Tazawa, 227. Roberts, 151. In the U.S., two of Shōkadō's zen paintings, including *Katsusan to Sensu* (Chia-shan and the Ferryman) and *Take to Suzume* (Bamboo and Sparrows) have been kept in the collection of Philadephia Art Museum. Imai Masaharu, America ni watatta Bukkyō Bijutsu: Philadelphia Bijutsu-kan o chūshinni (The Buddhist Art Introduced to America: especially that of Philadelphia Art Museum) (Kyōto: Jishōsha, 1999), 211-247.

master of the Shingon sect, Kōbō Daishi.[194] In Hachiman Takimotobō, a place Shōkadō used to live, there were a number of Hotei-zu by Muromachi *suiboku* (monochrome ink) painters, such as Shūbun[195] (1414-1463) and Mokuan (1323-1345), so that he could have learned from them, as existing letters he wrote to his acquaintances prove how he was interested in *Hotei-zu* and *Kanzan Jittoku-zu*, and his close affiliation with people in Takimoto-bō helped him to draw his inspiration from these paintings, including Chinese and Japanese ones of the Muromachi period. [196] In June, 1614[197] (Genwa 1), one document mentions that Shōkadō's painterly proficiency in his youth was closely associated with Sanraku's (1559-1635) art technique, since after the overthrow of the Toyotomi family in 1615 Sanraku was anxious about his own safety, but he got through it with the intervention of Shōkadō. Shōkadō's depictions of figure paintings of *Hotei-zu* and *Kanzan-Jittoku-zu* show that he was stimulated by the stylistic ideas of painters of the Song and Yuan dynasties. In a sense, his paintings look like simple and spontaneous ink sketches executed in soft brush strokes. His *suiboku* painting from the Chōin-ji[198] possesses many features characteristic of several of the early versions of the same theme, especially the ones by the painters of the Muromachi period,

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[194] Ibid.

[195] Shūbun, a monk at the Shōkoku-ji, Kyōto, was believed to have studied painting under the instruction of Sesshū. (1420-1506). As a chief painter serving the *shōgun*, in 1423 or 1424, he went on an official trip to Korea as a member of the shogun's embassy.

[196] Yazaki Itaru (Nezu Art Museum), "Shōkadō Shōjō no Gadai: Hotei-zu to Kanzan Jittoku-zu," Museum 401 August, 1954, 28.

[197] According to Yazaki, the year Kanō Sanraku started live in Otokoyama Hachiman-gū was 1614, but Igawa points out that it was in 1615 (Keichō 20). Igawa Sadayoshi, "Shōkadō Shōjō no Koyūkankei-Konoe-ke bunsho ni yoru (Based on the writings on Shōkadō's company), Bukkyō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō (Bulletin of Bukkyo University) 52 March, 1968, 2.

[198] Kamio Aiko, Heisei Shukkai-chō, Chōin-ji no Meihōten (The exhibition on rare treasures in Chōin-ji) (Nishio, Aichi Prefecture: Nishio city Iwase Bunko, 2003), [2-34].

Kaō[199] (?-1345), for example. The compositional formula which Shōkadō adopted was the way that the figures are usually placed in the center of the scroll, and his brushwork has a light touch, and subtlety as well. *Hotei-zu*[200], one of the three panel screens (Plate 22) shown here, is done in tones of light gray, but the outlines of his cloth are indicated in a relatively thick, dark tone of ink. Shōkadō, and also the painters of the Muromachi period, did not seem to seek the content and the essence of their works first, but rather first tried to learn the style, the format, and technique drawn in the Chinese paintings. In other words, within the limited demand of the *suiboku-ga* for these Japanese painters, its style gradually became established as their own.[201]

A couple more works that show close stylistic correspondences with Jakuchū's are the depictions of the *Sanjūrokkasen-zu Oshie Byōbu* (Thirty-six Poetic Immortals)[202] by

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[199] Kaō was a founder of the Muromachi *suiboku* school and was one of the most important early suiboku painters. Kao was born in Chikuzen Province, in the southern part of Japan, became a Zen monk, and went to China around 1318, and stayed there for ten or fifteen years. Then, he stayed in Kyōto, first at the Manjū-ji, then the Nanzen-ji, where he became the 18th abbot, and finally the Kennin-ji, where he died. Roberts, A Dictionary, 70.

[200] Copied with permission.

[201] Nezu Museum of Art, Muromachi-jidai Suiboku-ga no Keifu (Ink Monochrome Painting of the Muromachi Period): Kao, Sesshū, Motonobu (Tōkyō: Nezu Museum of Art, 1992), 106.

[202] The depictions of this subject were also followed by the late Edo period painters, Suzuki Kiitsu (1796-1858) and Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828), whose styles were also influenced by Kōrin (the Rinpa school). Hōitsu might have been inspired by stone rubbing, called *takuhanga*, which had been practiced by Jakuchū. A variety of art techniques spread beyond Kyōto, and eventually to the Edo area, after Jakuchū's time, the beginning of the nineteenth century (Bunka and Bunsei eras). Kobayashi Tadashi and Kawano Motoaki, Edo Meisakugachō zenshū VII: Maruyama Shijō-ha: Ōkyo, Rosetsu, Jakuchū (Tōkyō: Shinsendō, 1996), 116. The technique of *takuhan-ga* was originally introduced by the monks coming from China, including Dokuryū and Sokuhi. Sōmi Kōhu, "Jakuchū no Takuhanga," Geijutsu Shinchō, (September, 1955), 75. Hōitsu, born in Edo, studied painting in the Kanō school, then under Utagawa Toyoharu of the ukiyo-e school. Hōitsu specialized in paintings of flowers and birds. Kiitsu, said to be the son of a man from the province of Ōmi, later became an adopted son of Suzuki Reitan, a fellow disciple of Sakai Hōitsu. Kiitsu was the last important painter of the Rinpa school, founded by Kōrin. Roberts, 47, Tazawa, 241. The art of the Kōrin school, originally developed in Kyōto, eventually spread into the Edo area (Edo Rinpa), was with contributions by Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743), Kōrin's younger brother, who went Edo around 1731. Santory Bijutsukan, Sakai Hōitsu to Edo Rinpa (Tōkyō: Santory Museum, 1981), 66. Kenzan studied painting under his brother, but in contrast to Kōrin's vigorous style, Kenzan specialized in a lyric type of expression that is influenced by calligraphy. Tazawa, 183.

Kōrin. Jakuchū's depiction of *Sanjūrokkasen-zu Byōbu*[203] (The Thirty-six Immortal Poets) (Plate 23), now at Denver Art Museum, probably was intended to be portraits of well known poets selected by Fujiwara Yakechika during the middle of Heian period. These poets had been individually depicted in each piece of scroll, but, since the Edo period, the format of this subject changed to depict these poets as a group,[204] instead of that of individual portraits, so-called *gunzo kasen-e*[205] (group portrait of immortal poets). In Jakuchū's, with an inscription saying "painted at the age of eighty-three," there are paintings mounted on a pair of six-panel folding screens (140.3 cm x 54 cm each). In each panel, two, three, or four poets wearing their aristocratic costumes and engaging in various activities-playing some instruments, drawing pictures, playing some games, and so on-are humorously depicted, and some of the characters seem to be similar to that of *Tsukumogami-zu*. One poet is riding a *koto* as if it were a hobby horse, while another is blowing soap bubbles in amusement, and still another is performin writing tricks by doing calligraphy with the brush in his mouth. One of the panels has a curious depiction of people who are puffing at their cigarette, a kind of an acrobatic feat called *enkyoku*. Jakuchū's interest in this subject must have related to his personal acquaintance, because there was a person named Matsumoto Hōjidō who was good at playing this acrobatic feat.[206] These childlike figures can be viewed as alter egos of

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[203] Copied with permission.
[204] Tosa Mitsuyoshi's now kept at Zenrin-ji, has a depiction of the thirty-six immortal poets seated horizontally in one row. Kōno Motoaki, Nihon Bijutsu Kaiga Zenshū, volume 17: Ogata Kōrin (Tōkyō: Shuei-sha, 1980), 139.
[205] Kobayashi Tadashi, "Suzuki Kiitsu hitsu Sanjū-roku Kasen-zu," Kokka 1065 Augst 1983, 21.
[206] Tsuji Nobuo, "Itō Jakuchū hitsu Sanjūrokkasen Byōbu (Thirty-six Poetic Immortals)," Kokka 1007 (1977): 27.

Jakuchū who, having passed the age of eighty, had now returned to a childlike innocence.[207] While Kōrin's calls to mind some passages of traditional *Yamato-e* picture scrolls, and he clearly seems to focus on a decorative manner of line and colors, Jakuchū's in monochrome ink suggests more simplified descriptions of each figure. In other words, the portraits of poets (*kasen*) of Jakuchū is caricaturing, but, in a sense, in a realistic manner, and the robes are handled in a rhythmical way. In Jakuchū's, the treatment of certain details, such as the decoration of voluminous robes and curved contours and angular forms, are rendered with a large brush and painted with thick dark ink, while there are some rough and simplified renderings of the faces, probably because Jakuchū intended them to be more than simply cartoon-like expressions. Enhancing the characteristic of special paper called *gasen-shi*, which he could take advantage of using good absorbent ink, is a special drawing technique called *sujimegaki*.[208] One of the most accomplished depictions of Shokadō's includes subjects similar to those Jakuchū worked on, six fold panels of *Shokunin Kasen-zu* (*shokunin* means artisan and craftsman in Japanese), for which Shōkadō received an Imperial command from the emperor of the time, Gomizuno (1596-1680).[209] The characters depicted in Shōkadō's were a fortuneteller, teachers of Chinese studies, a sculptor of Buddhist images, and so forth. Curiously, a certain letter of Shōkadō written to the Konoe indicates that

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[207] Tsuji, Nobuo. Translted by Joseph Seubert, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures VII: Playfulness in Japanese Art (Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, 1986),63.

[208] Kobayashi Tadashi, Sumi-e no fu: Nihon no suibokugakatachi 2 (Tōkyō: Perikan-sha, 1992), 57. Kobayashi's discussion about *sujimegaki* also appears in his another book, Edo no Gakatachi (Tōkyō: Perikan-sha, 1987), 50-53.

[209] The 108th Emperor Gomizuno's official command to Shōkadō was originally done with the help of the Konoe family, who introduced them with each other. The Konoe family, descendants of the Fujiwara family, served as high government officials, and had raised Shōkadō and his elder brother named Sakyō since they were children.

Shōkadō requests the Konoe to lend some books on *Shokunin Kasen-zu.*[210] In my opinion, Jakuchū's interst in this subject could be traced back to a representation that was almost a century earlier than Jakuchū's. Jakuchū's animate and humorous creatures and people, regardless of whether they are imaginary or real ones, always show their individual character with clear expressions, in terms of their gestures.

Jakuchū's treatment of the entire composition of his paintings of Daoist subjects appears to be very witty, in terms of his brush work rendered in a simple manner. The robes are handled in curvilinear lines, as seen in *Gama and Tekkai* [211] (Plate 15), shown in a quick manner with bold, dark-black slashes of the brush. The lines drawn even seem to be simplified to the shape of the gently curved moon, especially in the line of the cloth Jittoku wears. Addiss mentions such a crescent moon shape in Ōbaku Dōshagen's (1599-1662) *Within the Moon.*[212] Besides the influences of artists such as Yan Hui and Ogata Kōrin, it is important to note the paintings of Itsunen (1601/2-1668), one of the first Ōbaku monks to come to Japan.[213] Itsunen, both a monk and a painter, taught many students Zen painting, mostly in Nagasaki,[214] where he first lived and where he became the third abbot of the Ōbaku

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[210] Igawa Sadayoshi, "Shōkadō Shōjō no Kōyū Kankei: Konoe-ke Bunsho ni yoru (Shōkadō Shōjō and his acquaintances based on the writings of the Konoe family)," in Bukkyō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō, 52 March 1968, 12-13.

[211] Copied with permission.

[212] Dōshagen (1599-1662), Tao-che Ch'ao-yuan in Chinese, was an immigrant Chinese scholar-monk of this sect. He was also a fine calligrapher, and instructed many Japanese monks and painters, including Gesshu Soko (1618-1696) and Bankei Yotaku (1622-1693). Stephen Addiss, The Art of Zen: Paintings and Calligraphy by Japanese Monks 1600-1925 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1989), 66 and 70.

[213] Itsunen Shōyū (1601-1668) first reached Nagasaki in 1644 and later became the third abbot of Kōfuku-ji.

[214] According to Nishigōri, Itsunen received instruction under his master, Mokushi at Kōfuku-ji, in Nagasaki. The temple of Kōfuku-ji, also called the Nankin (Nanjin) temple, is a place where many Chinese people originally coming from Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Jiangsu province gathered. In the back of the Kōfuku-ji there was a retirement house named Tōryō-an. People of the late Ming dynasty, specialized in various types of skills, often came to this place, and Itsunen might have exchanged and shared some ideas with these people. After his master Mokushi died, Itsunen seriously began to paint and learned the paintings owned by this temple. Nishigōri Ryōsuke, "Ōbaku shoso Itsunen no Shogyō," Kokka 108, no. 7, 12-13.

temple, Kōfuku-ji, serving for eleven years. Later on, he was naturalized and spent a peaceful life until he died at the age of sixty-nine.[215] The subjects of Jakuchū's monochrome ink paintings exhibit concepts of Buddhism, in this case Ōbaku Zen Buddhism, as well as concepts of Daoism and Confucianism[216] With the introduction of Chinese culture, especially that brought by the Chinese Ōbaku monks and merchants during the eighteenth century the philosophy of Daoism and its close tie with the Ōbaku teaching, and Daoist subjects including the immortals called *sennin* in Japanese, gained popular interest among many Japanese visual artists. Jakuchū was one of them. It is true that Yin-yuan (Ingen) had collected some written documents related to Confucianism and Daoism. As shown in the collection of Yin-yuan's writings (Ingen Zenshu), one of Yin-yuan's poems deals with his admiration of some of the Buddhist masters, "a few verses extolling the Daoist master Lao Zi and one verse stating that Buddhism and Confucianism are compatible."[217] Artistically speaking, in some of the Zen paintings of the Edo period, there are also some evidences representing the harmonious teaching of the four different philosophical ideas of Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and Shintoism. In these verses he emphasizes the importance of filial piety, as described in his own biography, telling that he had not begun his

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[215] Himi Shintarō, Nagasaki no Bijutsushi (History of Art in Nagasaki) (Tōkyō: Kateidō, 1927), 50.
[216] This is called the concept of the "unity of the three creeds" which developed in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), and these three teachings were once believed one and harmonious with each other among Buddhists in China at the end of the Ming dynasty. It is also described as *sankyō itchi* in Japanese terminology, and it usually refers to the harmonious relationship of the three main religions including Confucianism, Buddhism, and the Japanese native religion called Shintoism. Takai Kyōko, "Min matsu kika Chūgokusō no gakushiki nit suite (about the scholarship of Chinese priests naturalized in Japan, during the late Ming dynasty), Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, v. 49, no. 97 (December 2000), 251.
[217] Baroni, Ōbaku Zen, 119.

monastic life for several years, until his mother died, to fulfill his deep sense of filial piety toward her.[218]

Because Jakuchū incorporated these multiple elements of Ōbaku Zen into his paintings, his works seemed to have much more popular appeal than any other works of his contemporaries. Such playfulness fully described in some of his monochrome paintings can have a certain evidence or reflection of the state of his mind as well as the common aspect of the life of the people during the Edo period. In addition to those *sennin*, the immortal figures, or the legendary eccentrics, Kanzan, Jittoku, Tekkai, and Jittoku, is another group of Jakuchū's monochrome paintings representing the story of the supernatural. His *Tsukumogami-zu*[219] (Painting of Spirits of Used Articles) (Plate 24) is based on a story from One Hundred Demons and One Hundred Supernatural Tales. One may wonder why this extremely representative painting has not been studied and appreciated by more scholars, as one of the Jakuchū's remarkable achievements, just as they put more value on most of his polychrome ink paintings. As a matter of fact, little attention has been paid to the contents and the composition of Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*. Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*, formerly in the collection of a Japanese painter, Yoshikawa Kanpō (1894-1978), is now in the City Museum of Fukuoka,[220] and fully indicates the artist's keen visual expression as well as his rich humor. In this discussion, my focus is aimed at investigating why Jakuchū was

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[218]Ibid., 119-120.
[219] Copied with permission.
[220] For the most up-to-date information on Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*, Nakayama, one of the curators at the City Museum of Fukuoka explained to me that it will be not exhibited until next March in this museum, since right now it has been rented to other museums, including Asahikawa Museum in Hokkaidō, Gifu Historical Museum (July 8th to 24th), Kōchi Prefectural Museum (September 11th to 25th), and a couple of others, in which "An Exhibition of the Works of Mizuki Shigeru" will be held in this year, 2005.

interested in this theme and what the relationship between this popular Japanese tale and the doctrine of Ōbaku Zen might be.

First of all, the story of *Tsukumogami*, depicted in the book Gazu Hyakki Yagyō (or called Hyakki Yakō), by an unknown author, translated as Illustrated Night Parade of Demons, was written in the mid-sixteenth century, the Muromachi period. For the question of the original version of the *Hyakki yagyō emaki,* Tanaka Takako hypothesizes the theory that the characters depicted in the hand scroll painting format of the Hyakki yagyo e-maki, were originally based on the Tsukumogami. In this case, the proper name for this painting scroll could be *Tsukumogami emaki*, not a *Hyakki yagyō emaki.*

This illustrations are some of the most well known works of *Hyakki Yagyō*, now in the collection[221] of the Shinju-an, Daitōku-ji in Kyōto, especially the one by Tosa Mitsunobu,[222] a Yamato-e painter of the Tosa school in the late Muromachi period, who served as the head court painter, *kyūtei e-dokoro azukari*, sponsored by the Ashikaga Shogunate, and produced scroll paintings of Buddhist subjects, and portraits of the member of the Imperial family. At that time, while the paintings of the Kanō school, with its decorative style, gained popularity, the Yamato-e style of the Tosa school was in decline. However, Tosa Mitsunobu tried to reestablish a new style, incorporating the Chinese painting techniques and a revitalization of the traditional Yamato-e style founded by the artists before

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[221] Several copies of this painting scroll have been kept in the collections of both Japanese and American institutions, including Nishio Library, Spencer Collection, Matsui Bunko, and so forth.

[222] The biographical information on this artist may slightly vary depending on the sources you look at. According to Roberts' A Dictionary of Japanese Artists, Mitsunobu was born in 1434 and died in 1525, while the other source I have obtained, Tazawa's Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Art, does not mention when he was born, but it says that he died in either 1521 or 1522. Laurance P. Roberts. A Dictionary of Japanese Artists: Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Prints, Lacquer (Tōkyō and New York: Weatherhill), 108. Yutaka

him into his work. In contrast to the art of Edo period, some of the art of the Muromachi period is characterized by a style showing a refinement and elegance in terms of the style and the techniques used, but it does not seem to have sufficient vital energy.[223] At the same time, such conventional features of the work of the Tosa school might be explained by the social background of the time, in which the relationship between the common class and the aristocracy was well harmonized. At that time, most of the paintings, including those by the artists of the Tosa school, were patronized and favored by the upper class, such as the Imperial family and the Shōgun family. Perhaps, the refinement or elegance favored by these people was also enhanced by free and unrestrained ideas appealing to common people, instead of the aristocrats.

There are a couple of other *Hyakki Yagyō-zu* besides Tosa Mitsunobu's,[224] but unfortunately most of them have been lost. According to Kōko Gafu, written by Kurokawa Harumura (1799-1866) and edited by Furukawa Miyuki, *Hyakki Yagyō-zu* were painted by the following[225] :

Tazawa, Biographical Dicrionary of Japanese Art (Tōkyō: Kōdansha and the Internaional Society for Educational Information), 267-268.

[223] Miyajima Shinichi, "Tosa Mitsunobuto Tosa-ha no Keifu" in Nihon no Bijutsu. 247 December, 1986. The translation is by the author.

[224] Komatsu and Tanaka question whether the scroll exhibited in the Tōkyō National Museum is copied after the one by Tosa Mitsunobu from the Collection of the Shinjuan, Daitokuji, Kyōto. The work displayed at the Tōkyō National Museum has a similar depiction of the subjects and composition as Tosa Mitsunobu's one, even though the length of the entire scroll is much longer than Tosa's. It also depicts characters which are not seen in Tosa's. However, Tanaka's recent discussion says that the one in the Tōkyō National Museum may not have been copied after the Tosa in the collection of the Shinjuan, but after Tsukumogami-ki (Plate 25) in Sūfuku-ji, Gifu Prefecture. Komatsu Shigemi, Zoku-Nihon no Emaki volume 27, 112-113. Tanaka Takako, Zuseteu, Hyakki Yagyō o Yomu (Tōkyō: Kawaide shobō shinsha, 1999), 18-19.

[225] The following list of the names of the artists are derived from Kurokawa's book. Komatsu Shigemi. Zoku Nihon no emaki 27: Nōe Hōshi Ekotoba, Fukutomi Zōshi, and Hyakki Yagyō emaki (Tōkyō: Chūōkoron-sha, 1993), 111. There is another *emaki*, a Colletion of Spencer, that is pretty similar to the one in Shinju-an, Kyōto. Tsuji mentions the one of Spencer Collection was originally bought from Kōbun-so in 1956. Tsuji Eiko, Spencer Collection zō: Nihon Emakimono sho, fu, Ishiyama Terazō (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2002), 275.

1. Tosa gonnokami[226] Tsunetaka (*Hyakki Yagyō-ezu* [1316], the collection of the Konoes)
2. Tosa Mitsushige (*Hyakki Yagyō-zu*, a special collection of the Tokugawa bakufu)
3. Tosa Yukihide (*Hyakki Yagyō-zu* [unknown date])
4. Tosa Yoshimitsu (*Hyakki-zukan* [part of it is missing])
5. Tosa Mitsuyoshi (*Hyakki Yagyō-zu*)
6. Tosa Mitsunobu (*Hyakki Yagyō-zu*, a collection of Junen-ji [the temple of the Pure Land sect of the Buddhism], Kyōto)

Tosa Mitsunobu's *Hyakki Yagyō emaki*, now in the collection of the Shinju-an in Daitōku-ji, Kyōto, is the one of the most well-known works on this theme and it is designated as an important cultural property in Japan. This long horizontal scroll painting (33cm x 70cm), filled with grotesque and mysterious characters, has always drawn in Japanese audiences. In this study, almost no English sources explaining the painted scrolls of *Hyakki Yagyō*, including the *Tsukumogami*, were found, while there are a few sources focusing on the *Hyakki Yagyō-zu*, designed by artists of the late Edo, particularly those of the woodblock print makers (the so-called ukiyo-e artists), and by artists of the Meiji periods. Japanese sources, on the other hand, thoroughly discuss this theme, in literature as well as art.

At any rate, the questions of what the word *hyakki yagyō* means and when it started to be used in Japanese history need to be mentioned here. Since around the time of the late Heian period the phenomenon of *Hyakki Yagyō*'s mischievous behavior was believed by and frightened people, because there are some descriptions

[226] A special title given by the government, a high-ranking position under the minister.

telling about the fearful behavior of these strange creatures in the human world, especially among the aristocrats, who often encountered these creatures when they walked the streets at night. These descriptions include the ones in Kōdan-sho, Okagami, Uji Shūi Monogatari.[227]

The next question to be raised here is what the *Tsukumogami* depicted in this *Hyakki Yagyō-emaki* means. Since ancient times, people in Japan have believed that everything, both natural and artificial (man-made) objects, have their own spirit, or a spirit that cannot be controlled by anything. Old tools are resentful of being carelessly thrown away, so they eventually decide to take revenge on their owners. Such revengeful, old tools are called *Tsukumogami*. This is why, even today, at temples mainly, there is a custom for people to clean their houses and hold rituals for the old tools, including musical instruments, old dolls, needles used for sewing, old brushes, and many others. This event is called *susuharai* (sweeping soot) and is held at either the end of each year or the beginning of each new year. This event is especially still active in Kyōto. *Tsukumo* ("ninety-nine hairs," written in Chinese characters), means a gray-haired, aged lady. Based on one of the tales from Ise Monogatari (Story of Ise), the word "tsugumomo," with its meaning of the number ninety-nine, implies less than one hundred. At the same time, the number of strokes in the character "haku" or "shiro" (meaning white in English) is one less than in "hyaku" (one hundred). This is why *tsukumo* means one's gray hair.[228]

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[227] Uji shūi monogatari is a 13th-century anthology of folktales.

[228] Shiinmura Izuru, an edItōr. Kōjien, fourth edition (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 1713. Tsuji Nobuo also mentions that the gray-hair of an aged person looks similar to an algae called "tsukumo." Tsuji Nobuo. Yuge suru shinbutsu tachi: Kinsei no shūkyō bijutsu to animism (Tōkyō: Kadokawa shoten, 2000), 21.

Tsukumogami means that the soul or spirit possessed by every tool gets power when it reaches one hundred years. It is based on the idea of animism that even inanimate objects can transform themselves into living creatures, and gain supernatural power. The supernatural power of old tools is explained more thoroughly in the Yin-Yang Book (In-Yō Zakki). This is written in the beginning section of the *Tsukumogami emaki* [229] (Plate 25) from Sūfuku-ji in Gifu prefecture. The Yin-Yang Book says that when tools reach the age of 100 years old, they have their own souls and upset human beings. According to Tsukumogami-ki,[230] there is a scene where tools thrown by people become evil, but later they are taught not to harm people, and they enter the religious priesthood. Part of this story, Tsukumogami-ki, written in Japanese in the modern style, based on Tanaka's translation from the old texts, together with the author's English translation, is found in an Appendix to this thesis.

Although my English translation of the Tsukumogami-ki in Appendix[231] is a long story and seems to stray from the point, it indicates several important issues and even helps us understand what kind of concept makes Jakuchū's monochrome ink paintings Buddhist, and relevant to the Ōbaku Zen sect of Buddhist in particular. Ōbaku Zen, is a syncretic religion, combining elements of "influence from outside the

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[229] Copied with permission. This is also called Tsukumogami Ekotoba and Hijō Jōbutsu-e (meaning, a picture of insentient objects' entering Nirvana). Nakano Kōichi, editor, Waseda daigaku zō: Shiryō eiin gyōsho, Kokusho-hen (From the Collection of Waseda University: Photographed Japanese Materials), volume 19 (Tōkyō: Waseda University, 1991), 17.

[230] Tanaka's translation in the modern Japanese language is based on the texts Tsukumogami-ki (volume 9), now in National Diet Library, in "Muromocahi jidai monogatari taisei (Collection of the tales written in the Muromachi period)." Tanaka Takako, Hanada Kiyoteru, Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, and Komatsu Kazuhiko, Zusetsu, Hyakki Yagyō o Yomu (Illustration for Interpreting the Story of Hyakki Yagyō) (Tōkyō: Kawaide shobō shinsha, 1999), 34-45.

Zen tradition—the inclusion of Pure Land belief and practice, Chinese folk religion, and perhaps the ready incorporation of themes from Confucian and Daoist teachings."[232] The characters in *Tsukumogami-zu*, are depicted as the ones who wished to become Buddhas under the instruction of Kōbō Daishi, a master of the Shingon sect of Buddhism. The one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Ōbaku Zen is the inclusion of several mantras and dharani at each service. These elements are more commonly associated with Esoteric Buddhism than with Zen practice.[233] The narrative story of *Tsukumogami* is aimed at describing how inanimate objects became buddhas (*shukke*, meaning to leave the home life, a Japanese expression for the process of becoming a member of the Buddhist monastic community). Back to the establishment of the Jōdo sect (the Pure Land sect) in Japan, the founder of this sect, Hōnen (1133-1212), studied the Kuan ching shu (Commentary on the Pure Land Meditation Sutra) created by the Chinese Pure Land master, a man named Shan-tao. Honen and his student Shinran (1173-1262) emphasized the practice of *nembutsu* as the one religious act that, when practiced exclusively, could lead any human being to salvation in Amida's Pure Land, even the poor or needy, the stupid or ignorant, those who had seen or heard little of the teachings, or those who had broken the clerical

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[231] This story is translated from the following written source: Tanaka Takako, Hanada Kiyoteru, Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, and Komatsu Kazuhiko, Zusetsu, Hyakki Yagyō o yomu (Illustration for Interpreting the Story of Hyakki Yagyo), (Tōkyō: Kawaide shobo shinsha, 1999), 34-45.

[232] Baroni, Ōbaku Zen, 121.

[233] The use of Mantra and dharani is aimed at relief from natural disaster. They are words or phrases without literal meaning said to contain mystic truth or to have mystical powers. Helen Baroni. "Ōbaku Zen—An Introduction," Japanese Religions 17, no. 1 (1991): 46.

precepts or were without them.[234] While most of the Zen sects criticized the reliance on Amida's help practiced by the Pure Land sect, pointing that it is *tariki*, a kind of perversive form of practice, as opposed to *jiriki* (the primary practice of Zen Buddhism), meaning one's own self effort, the Ōbaku teachers incorporated some of the Pure Land practices into their Zen teaching. This is why Ōbaku Zen Buddhism has often been called *nembutsu zen*, meaning the dual practice of having both meditation on the Buddha as well as the practice of chanting the Amida's name, and the practice of *zazen* (seated meditation).[235] The meditation with mudra symbolic body postures, hand gesture and mandala-practiced by other sects of Buddhism, was promoted by Kōbō Daishi,[236] Kūkai (774-835), the founder of esoteric Buddhism, the Shingon sect Buddhism in Japan, and the stories associated with this master. Such miracle stories associated with the master are depicted in *Tsukumogami-zu*, in which all the abandoned tools eventually tried to become Buddhas with the help of the Shingon masters. Fabio Rambelli explains that a more explicit instance of becoming a Buddha is presented by the *Tsukumogami ki*, an image of those objects transfigured into Buddha images enshrined on a temple altar.[237] The notions of *sōmoku jōbutsu*, Vegetable Buddhahood, and *sōmoku kokudo shikkai jōbutsu*[238] are both emphasized in the teachings of both the Shingon sect and the Pure Land sect Buddhism.

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[234] James C. Dobbins, Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 13.
[235] Akamatsu Shinmyō, Bukkyō Daigaku Kōza, Ōbakushū kōyō (Tōkyō: Bukkyō nenkan-sha, 1934), 20.
[236] This title means "Great Teacher Who Sereads Widely the Dharma," by Kūkai. Baroni, Illustrated, 193.
[237] Fabio Rambelli, Vegetable Buddhas (Kyōto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2001), 60-63.
[238] Nakano Kōichi, Waseda Daigaku zō, 18. It is also explained in other text, Iwai Hiromi and others, Zusetsu: Nihon no Yōkai (Tōkyō: Kawaide Shobō Shinsha, 1990), 41.

A number of copied works of *Hyakki Yagyō-zu* were produced especially during the late Edo period. Artistically speaking, the composition of these *Hyakki Yagyō-emaki* painted by the artists of these various times and places, especially those of medieval times (the Muromachi period) and modern times (the late Edo period), has always varied. The syncretic metaphors of life and death for all sentient and insentient things of the world were an especially important concern for the artists of the eighteenth century Japanese society, in which people's interest in encyclopedic sources on nature was heightened. In order to interpret these works thoroughly, we need to note what cultural and social meanings are indicated behind these works, since art always reflects society. The depiction of natural subjects in both polychrome and monochrome ink paintings represent that Jakuchū's main concern in living close to nature is associated with Buddhist piety. One of the poems written by Daiten describes and recognizes a sense of religious compassion that Jakuchū had. Daiten's writing on one episode on Jakuchū's pity of animals reads:

> Everything on earth, no matter how small or big it is, is equally given its own life.
> Why do people cruelly deprive the lives of other creatures for satisfying their appetite?
> Sparrows peacefully living in the woods and the grove are caught in traps by humans.
> People enjoy entertaining themselves especially when they have a banquet to eat roast fowl.
> They have no feeling of pity and compassion for these animals relentlessly abandoned by human hands.
> Their sins would be inevitably retributive forever.
> The animals cruelly treated by humans might revenge themselves upon humans some day or other.

I (Daiten himself) am pleased to know that you saved their lives.

Birds that used to be horrible in their cages, now can happily fly off to the sky,

Well, there is no telling living things' fate.

From now on, with your warm mercy, you (Jakuchū) will be on the path of striving for enlightenment (*bosatsu*). [239]

By so doing, my next discussion moves on to the systematic study of the major social issue associated with Jakuchū's life and how he was motivated by contemporary Kyōto society. As noted before, the story of *Tsukumogami* takes place in Kyōto, the city in which Jakuchū was born and raised. *Tsukumogami-emaki,* painted by various artists of the eighteenth century, including Jakuchū, Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769), Toriyama Sekien[240] (1712-1788),[241] and Tanaka Totsugen (Bin)[242] (1760-1823), reflect a question about how contemporary Edo society developed under

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[239] Sueki Fumihiko and Horikawa Takahashi, Edo Kanshi-sen, volume 5: Sōmon (Selected Chinese Poetry of the Edo Period, volume 5: Poems written by monks) (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 243-246. The translation is by the author.

[240] Sekien, known as a Kanō painter and *ukiyo-e* print maker, lived in Edo. He used to produce many paintings that were dedicated to Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. After 1770, he started to work as a book illustrator. His favorite subject matter includes ghosts, monsters, hobgoblins, seen as his album of Zuga Hyakki Yagyō. Sekien is best known as the father and the master of Utamaro. This biographical information is partially derived from Roberts' A Dictionary of Japanese Artists, 140-141.

[241] Toriyama Sekien's famous art work, Gazu Hyakki Yagyō (Illustrated Parade of Demons) (1776), is a book consist of three volumes including "*In* (Yin)," "*Yo* (Yang)," and "*Fu.*" The idea implied in these three volumes is explained with the following philosophical concept. "Yin and Yang were probably linked to the "*U* (Rain)" of the sequel by association with a phrase. Yin and Yang are in harmony, all creation is blessed with rain. " Nobuko Kitashiro, "Solving the Riddle of Gazu Hyakki Yagyō: The Compositional methods of Toriyama Sekien," (a summary written in English), and also in "Nazotoki Zuga Hyakki Yagyō, Toriyama Sekien no Kōsei Hōhō o megutte, Kyōto Seika Bungaku Kiyō, no. 22, (Kyōto: Kyōto Seika University, 2002), 320 and 334. This theme of hyakki yagyō continued to appear in the art of the later Edo period, such as that of ukiyo-e (woodblock printings) by Utagawa Yoshiiku (1833-1904) and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Doguchi Midori, "One Hundred Demons and One Hundred Supernatural Tales," Japanese Ghosts & Demons: Art of the Supernatural (New York: George Braziller in association with the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1985), 15 and 19.

[242] Totsugen, born in Nagoya and then lived Kyōto, was a painter of revived yamato-e art. First, he was a pupil of the Kanō painter Ishida Yutei, and then he worked under Tosa Mitsusada to study the manner of the *yamato-e* school of the Kamakura period. In 1790, he made some paintings for the walls of the Imperial Palace in Kyōto, and also he made copies of the paintings on the doors at the Byōdō-in, Uji. This biographical information is partially derived from Roberts, A Dictionary of Japanese Artists, 185.

the rapid growth of economy. Especially in the major urban areas of Kyōto and Edo, commercial and industrial activities expanded, as the production and the trade of luxury goods became readily available to a wide range of consumers, from the elite class of people to merchants, artisans, and farmers.[243] In fact, the phenomenon of commercialization had already started in the Muromachi period, because of the development of commerce and industry. The Muromachi period was the time when various kinds of goods that used to be possessed by only a few aristocratic and elite families in the previous eras permeated the daily lives of the common people. Hanada Kiyoteru points out that the annual custom that people threw away their old tools to the roadside in a careless way, at the time of Sweeping Soot (*susuharai*), indicates the production level of these daily goods had increased during the Muromachi period, although people's lives were still distracted by social problems like poverty and plagues.[244] Chōnin Kōkenroku,[245] written in 1728 (Kyōho 13) and edited by Mitsui Takahusa, was intended to be read as a guide book to instruct *chōnin* (merchants) how to manage their business in a successful way. This book deals with a couple of successful or unsuccessful stories about famous forty-six wealthy business owners, especially those of seventeenth century-Kyōto.

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[243] Along with the increased rate of the literacy in the Edo period, both males and females of all classes had opportunities of learning about various types of art, including painting, music, calligraphy, and plays.
[244] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Gajinden (sho)," in Zusetsu Hyakki Yagyō o yomu (Tōkyō: Kawaide Shobo, 1999), 48. The texts are translated by the author.
[245] Kamata Michitaka, Chapter five in Kinsei Kyōto no Toshi to Minshū (The people and their urban city, Kyōto in modern times) (Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2000), 257.

Jakuchū's other monochrome ink painting, *Yasai Nehan-zu* (or *Kaso Nehan-zu*, translated as Vegetable Nirvana)[246], now at Kyōto National Museum (Plate 26), seems to allude to a religious metaphor of attaining one's Buddhahood, as opposed to the way people live in the materialistic orientation of the eighteenth-century-Kyōto society, in which old tools are carelessly abandoned. The composition of this *Yasai Nehan-zu* includesthe scene of *Nehan* (Parinirvana), the Buddha's death: the reclining radish at the center, eight vertical corn stalks, the vegetable assembly itself, and a fruit peeking down from upper-left of the composition amidst the corn leaves, all correspond to the motifs of Sakyamuni, Sala trees, mourners, and Lady Maya (Shakyamuni's mother) descending from Heaven.[247] According to Dr. Shimizu, a professor at Princeton University, Nirvana painting viewed as allegory contains following two ideas. All beings, sentient and insentient, have Buddha-nature (*busshō*), because in the activity of universal Buddhahood, all beings, including plants and trees, attain Buddhahood.[248] Jakuchū's *Yasai Nehan-zu* has such a Buddhist metaphor of "*Busshō* and *Sōmoku Jōbutsu* (every part of every plant attains Buddhahood, so-called *jōbutsu*). Although, old tools or articles depicted in his *Tsukumogami-zu* do not belong to species of plants and animals, they are sentient beings that possess Buddha-nature. In the case of Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*, it could be meant to be taken as showing how the belief in the supernatural was strong and widespread in Jakuchū's time. It is a very important topic for us to examine the

[246] Copied with permission.
[247] Shimizu Yoshiaki, "Multiple Commemorations: The Vegetable Nehan of Itō Jakuchū," Flowing traces: Buddhism in the literary and visual arts of Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 201.
[248] Ibid, 211.

question of where Jakuchū got the inspiration for this unusual painting, but this study hopes to make us aware of important aspects of Jakuchū's interest in Ōbaku Zen Buddhism. People in Jakuchū's time were especially interested in the belief in the supernatural world, because at that time many people were greatly influenced and affected by the ethical thinking of Confucianism, but they were also questioning whether everything in the world could not be explained through some rational way of thinking. The supernatural, or the so-called *yōkai* in Japanese, reflects the cultural and spiritual uniqueness of the Japanese people. There is an interesting writing, Kaiga ni Mietaru Yōkai[249] (supernatural in paintings), written by Yoshikawa Kanpō, a former collector of Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*. This book has a discussion on several Japanese painters including Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691), Torii Kiyonobu (1664-1729), Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788), Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), Kawanabe Gyōsai (1831-1889), and some others, who depicted the themes of supernatural.[250] Indeed such belief in the existence of supernatural beings has always been commonplace, especially in Jakuchū's day, and even today.

In such a climate of materialistic orientation in eighteenth century-Kyōto society, Jakuchū, as a son of a successful business man, was eager to develop his artistic aesthetic taste. His relative financial security allowed him to concentrate on painting as a hobby, even after he handled over his ownership of the family business to his younger brother. However, such a financially secured life was dramatically

[249] This was published in 1925 by Bijutsu tosho shuppanbu, a publisher.
[250] Yasumatsu Miyuki points out there is some similar content between this book of Yoshikawa and another book, titled Cacillie Graaff Praff, published in Germany. Yasumatsu Miyuki, "Doitsu de shuppan sareta Nihon

changed after the great fire (*Tenmai no taika*) which occurred in Kyōto, in 1788, when he was seventy-three years old. According to Sankaryō Nikki, in 1791, because of his financial problems after the fire, his permanent contract with Sōkoku-ji (*eidai kuyō*, translated as a contract of perpetual offering), which had existed since 1765, was cancelled.[251] Around that time, he moved to Sekihō-ji, the Ōbaku temple located in Fukakusa, Kyōto, and became a hermit.[252] Jakuchū joined the Zen practice taught by Hakujun Shōkō (Shōkan) (1695-1776), the twentieth abbot of Manpuku-ji, when he was in his late fifties. His close affiliation with various sects of Buddhism suggests that there were no obstacles restricting his free exercise of artistic view, as Ōbaku Zen Buddhism itself is characterized by the syncretic teachings of diverse point of views. On the one hand, Jakuchū kept his ties with the Jōdo-Shin (Pure Land sect) temple Hōzoji as his family temple; on the other hand, he showed active patronage of Shōkoku-ji, which he reinforced by signing a contract of perpetual offering (*eidai kuyō keiyaku*), stating he would make donations both in cash and kind to the temple even after he died.[253] In the meantime Jakuchū had already made contracts with the Ōbaku Zen school in Uji, at Mampuku-ji; and with Sekihō-ji in Fukakusa, a temple allied to Mampuku-ji, where he was creating a stone sculpture diorama that is commonly called "The Five-Hundred Arhats (*gohyaku rakan)*,"

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no yokai no hon (the second): Yoshikawa Kanpo cho 'Kaiga ni mietaru yōkai'[1925] tono hikaku ni oite," in Beppu Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyō (Beppu University Bulletin), 4 March 2002, 2.

[251] Katō Shōshun. "Itō Jakuchū to Soga Shōhaku o meguru zensō." Hanazaono Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō (Annual Report of Hanazono University), 123 March 1991, 128.

[252] As described in Hiraga Hyakusan's Shōsai Hikki, the recording was first introduced in Mori Senzō's Jakuchū Koroku (1939). Sekihō-ji, located in the southern suburban area of Kyōto, was founded by Sengai Shōan, the sixth abbot of the headquarters of the Ōbaku Zen, Manpuku-ji, in 1713.

[253] Shimizu, Flowing traces, 230.

representing the eight phases of Sakyamuni's life.[254] Before the disaster of the big fire (*Tenmei no taika*) his life as an artist was secure and he was financially supported by Shōkoku-ji. However, since he lost his studio and was depressed by the disaster, he became ill, and Shokoku-ji nullified the "contract of eternal offering."[255] Jakuchū then started to sell his paintings to earn a living. For these reasons, Jakuchū's later life was closely associated with the Zen master, Hakujun (1695-1776) at Sekihō-ji. Most of the later monochrome ink paintings made in those days were also applied to the cost of making the group of stone statues of Five Hundred Arhats, displayed outside of Sekihō-ji.[256] At the same time, around this time, Jakuchū and some of his students started to work on their monochrome ink paintings at their own studio.[257] Unfortunately, many of these stone statues were damaged by the fire, but they were restored by Jakuchū's grandson Kiyofusa.[258] His family business, many of his family properties, and even Jakuchū's art studio were destroyed. One might say it was his

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[254] Ibid. The brief description of Jakuchū's project of making gohyaku rakan (five hundred arhats) also appears in Gajyō Yōryaku written by Shirai Kayō. Kobayashi Tadashi and Kōno Motoaki, ed. Nihon Kaigaron Taisei, 10 (Tōkyō: Perican-sha, 1998), 58.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Kobayashi Tadashi, "Bannen-ki Jakuchū no sakuhiin: suibokuga wo chushiin to shite," (The Works of Jakuchū Itō in His Last Years. –Chiefly with Reference to His Sketchy Pictures in *Suiboku-*), Kokka, no. 944 (1972), 12. While engaging in the project of making the statues of Five Hundred Arhats, around at the age of 85 or 88, Jakuchū was also working on the ceiling paintings now displayed in Sekihō-ji. Originally, these flowering plants as the main motif were painted on the ceilings of the Kannon Hall at Sekihō-ji, sect temple, in Fukakusa, Kyōto. These paintings of Jakuchū were obtained by a certain art collector during the early Meiji period, when there was the anti-Buddhsit movement that eventually led to the destruction of many Buddhist temples. Later, they were sold to a parishioner at Shingyo-ji, a man named Mr. Inoue. Doi Tsugiyoshi, "Shingyō-ji no tenjō-ga to Kotohiragū no Shōheki-ga (The Ceiling Paintings in the Shingyō-ji and the Panel Paintings in the Kotohira-gū), Museum, 245 August 1971, 14.

[257] Seki Shinichi, "Jakuchū; Mysterious," Nihon Bijutsu Kōgei, July 1974, 42. Some of the students working in Jakuchū's art studio include Jakuen and Ichu, whose names appear in the seals. Kobayashi Tadashi, "Itō Jakuchū no suiboku-ga ni tsuite, Rokuon-ji shōheki-ga nado zenki no sakuhin o chūshinni (Ink Paintings by Jakuchū-with special reference to the panel paintings at Rokuon-ji and other early works), Museum, 245 August 1971, 33.

[258] Yoshii Isamu, "Jakuchū Rakan Sho: Rakunan Sekihōji Shoken," in Daihōrin, May 1959, 36.

turning point, when he became more interested in religious subjects, and Ōbaku Zen Buddhism in particular.

Back to the discussion of the painting of Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu*, it looks totally different from Tosa's in terms of the humorous character of each figure and the pictorial composition. This long vertical hanging scroll (129.2 cm x 27.9 cm) includes the depiction of various kinds of tools[259] : from the top to the bottom, *torikabuto* (a special crown[260] worn by a musician for the court dance and music), a two-headed drum with an hourglass-like shaped instrument (*tsuzumi*), a candle stand holding a pitcher (*mizusashi*), a Japanese 13-stringed harp (*koto*), a Japanese lute (*biwa*), a water vessel in the shape of a monkey's body, another water vessel, a teacup (*yunomi jawan*), a basket (*kago*), a teakettle (*chagama*) with a lid on its very top, a lady wearing a *kimono*, and a tea stirrer (*chasen*). Jakuchū depicted familiar daily objects and transformed them into strange forms, in which half-human tools and even a half-monkey water vessel are set in the undulating lines, as if they are marching in a parade. Hakuin's *One Hundred Demons*, officially called *Hōgu Yōhen-zu*,[261] (Plate 27) a collection of Kondai-ji, a Rinzai temple (Myōshin-ji school) in Kyōto, also has the same characters as Jakuchū's, such as demons as some musical instruments, although it is painted in ink and color on paper. Images of demons were utilized in other forms of Buddhism to frighten the faithful into good behavior in

[259] The names shown here are based on my own assumptions, because they are not all identifiable.
[260] This type of crown decorated with gold brocade is in the shape of a phoenix's head.
[261] Mr. Kurauchi, the chief priest at Kondai-ji, told me that the title, *Hyakki Yagyō-e* is just a common name for this Hakuin's work, while the formal title is *Hōgu Kaihen-zu*. Copied with permission. A curator at Chiba Art Museum, Matsuo Tomoko, provided the information on the exhibition on Hakuin, "Emaki-mono: Anime no Genryū," held in August 10 through September 12, 1999.

order to avoid the pains of the hell. Hakuin's motivation of depicting this theme can be understood with his commentary on the Heart Sutra, in which after a night of darkness the light of morning comes as *satori*, explained with the following poem,

> The ogre outside shoves at the door, the ogre inside holds it fast;
> Pouring sweat from head to foot, battling for their very lives,
> Fighting on all through the night, until the dawn appears
> And laughter fills the early light. They were friends from the start![262]

According to Philip B. Yampolsky, [263] the enlightened man sees through both heaven and hell, and the battles of these tsukumo-gami and their fears can be taken as our own.

Here, Jakuchū's unusual treatment of space and color makes the work surrealistic. Of all the hybrid creatures Jakuchū created, he identified with these images of animal and human-like figures. In other words, each object shows human-like egg-shaped eyes, legs, arms, noses, mouth, and facial expression painted with smoothly rounded shapes. The objects painted with light terra-cotta colored brown and light black are set against a dark black background, so that some parts contrast sharply, especially the head of the *chagama* in the bottom. Although some parts are depicted with geometric shapes and rigid postures, their bodies are still shown with strong, rounded volumes. Because this is not a horizontal hand scroll painting, the groups of *tsukumogami* extend across a slightly curved line. The image of this long wave-like line of the groups of *tsukumogami* might be compared with some other

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[262] Addiss, Paintings and Calligraphy by Japanese Monks, 1600-1925: The Art of Zen (New York: Harry, N. Abrams, 1989), 115.

works of Jakuchū and of the following two Zen priest-painters: Kōgan Gengei[264] (1747-1821) and Nantembō Nakahara[265] (1839-1925). These two Rinzai Zen priest-painters produced works which seem to be pretty similar to each other, in terms of their subjects and composition. In both Kōgan (Plate 28) and Nantenbō's (Plate 29) *Takuhatsu*[266] (Procession of Monks), there are images of long lines of Zen monks engaged in the obligatory task of begging (this practice is called *takuhatsu*).[267] In the works of Nantenbō's *Takuhatsu*, with their simplified and bold compositions, there are two sets of hanging scrolls representing two lines of monks, one for departing and the other one for arriving home from their practice. The inscriptions written by Nantenbō himself read, "In the autumn, in their round hats, they return from the villages with their alms-baskets. "All the wandering monks throughout the world, their begging bowls resound like thunder.[268] Jakuchū's favorite subject, Hotei, is also

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[263] Philip B. Yampolsky, The Zen Master Hakuin: Selected Writings (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), includes Waddell's Hakuin's Poison Words for the Heart (Kyōto: Boroan Press, 1980).

[264] Kōgan Gengei was born in Echigo Province (present day Niigata Prefecture). As Regen Etō did, Kōgan also trained under the instruction of a Zen master, Hakuin. In 1789 Kōgan became the 21st abbot of the Kōgen-ji in Tamba Province. Most of his painting is painted in an abstract manner. This biographical information is based on Laurance P. Roberts, A Dictionary of Japanese Artists, 87.

[265] Nantenbō was born in Karatsu, a port city in Saga prefecture in north-western Kyūshū. He decided to enter the priesthood and in 1849 he was given the Buddhist name of Zenchū, which means Complete Devotion. After studying at Enpuku-ji in Kyōto, he moved to Bairin-ji in Kyūshū. Later he wandered through the countryside from temple to temple rather than receiving a high priest title. Nantenbō also followed Hakuin's teaching of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism. In his later life, he devoted himself to work on calligraphies and paintings which amount to over 100,000 works. Matthew Raymond Welch, The Painting and Calligraphy of the Japanese Zen Priest Tōju Zenchū, Alias Nantenbō (1839-1925). Ph. D. Dissertation (Kansas: The University of Kansas, 1995), 15-16 and 266.

[266] Copied with permission.

[267] Welch, The Painting and Calligraphy, 210. The Zen practice of begging is performed by monks who are taught to commit to poverty. During the beginning of the Tang Dynasty in China, this tradition was considered an essential part of a Zen monk's daily life. In Japan, this practice is still performed by Zen monks who walk through the streets and ask people to bring small offerings of money or rice. Ibid., 210.

[268] Lisa Rotondo-McCord, Enduring Vision, 297, Welch, The Painting and Calligraphy, Tōju Zenchū, 214, Addiss, Zenga and Nanga, 88.

represented in his *Fushimi Ningyō-zu* (Fushimi Dolls)[269] (Plate 30), in which seven figures of Hotei holding their *ōgi* (fans) are depicted in making a zigzagging-like line. Jakuchū makes use of this 1m-long vertical format of the hanging scroll painting to emphasize the zigzag line. The small ceramic figurines shown in this painting are called *Fushimi ningyō* (Fushimi doll) and are known as traditional goods produced in Fushimi Ward, Kyōto. Jakuchū's residential area in his later years was in Sekihō-ji, Fukakusa, Kyōto, geographically along the main street called Fushimi Kaidō (Fushimi highroad). As discussed in Kanō Hiroyuki's lecture on "Itō Jakuchū and Fushimi," Jakuchū used the same painting tools for his *Fushimi ningyō-zu* as he used in coloring the Fushimi dolls. Thus, there is a certain connection between Jakuchū's work of Fushimi dolls and the production of these ceramic dolls in the Fushimi area, along with the fact that Jakuchū's artistic inspiration comes from textiles and many other types of craft-making industries of Kyōto, including the Nishijin *kimono* weaving. His paintings of Fushimi dolls also demonstrate his interest in the active craft industrial world. Artistically speaking, the characteristics of his paintings may be described by saying that the "front," "repetition," and "plane," are shared with those of various kinds of craft works produced in the Kyōto area.[270] Jakuchū started his project of making the statues of *Five Hundred Arhats* in Sekihō-ji, Fukakusa in 1776. It was five years before he moved into his retirement house in part of this

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[269] Two of the seven works of *Fushimi Dolls* by Jakuchū, seem to be almost identical, except for a few different descriptions, such as the outline and the facial expression of the face of Hotei. The appearance of a Fushimi doll is also seen in another work of Jakuchū, *Sanjūroku Kasen-zu.* Copied with permission.

[270] Mori Michiyo (Student of Master Course, Department of Aesthetics and Art History, School of Letters, Nagoya University), "A Study of the Depictions of Details in Itō Jakuchū's *Dōshoku Sai-e*," Bigaku Bijutsushi Kenkyūronshū (Collection of Research Papers on Art History), 16 (1998): 94.

temple. At the same time, starting around 1764, he began to paint *Fushimi ningyō-zu*, especially those of Hotei. Among the statues of *Five Hundred Arhats*, there are some statues similar to the figure of Hotei. The subject of Hotei, defined as a reincarnation of *Miroku* (Maitreya), is defied in the headquarters of the Ōbaku Zen temple, Mampuku-ji in Uji, Kyōto.

Jakuchū's detailed or so-called microscopic depiction of the subject is seen in some of his work, including cases where Jakuchū devoted his life paintings in which the subjects such as hens, fish, shells, and insects, for example, are depicted with careful brushwork. These subjects are not only placed and arranged in decorative manner, but are completely filled in each painting surface without having any center catch viewer's attention.

It is interesting to note that Jakuchū's imaginative and playful objects of the *Tsukumogami-zu* are criticized in an unusual way. Shibusawa's comment on one characteristic of Jakuchū's painting, "space treatment with no center," is hard for me to accept. In regard to *Tsukumogami-zu*, the central viewpoint seems to be on the tea stirrer (*chasen*). Everyone is gazing at the tea stirrer, which is the only tool not being transformed into an apparition. They are wondering when it is going to be transformed into *tsukumogami*. The significant difference between Jakuchū's *Tsukumogami-zu* (Plate 24) and Tosa's is the way each figure is depicted. In Jakuchū's, the old tools, transformed into *Tsukumogami*, still have the features of the old tools. On the other hand, in Tosa's, the tools shown in the first section have not yet been transformed. The later sections of this scroll have scenes representing

Tsukumogami that lost their original features, except for a couple of them, such as some of the musical instruments.

Most scholars might say that it was the Middle Age (*chūsei*), Muromachi period when the most frequent depiction of the theme of *Tsukumogami* by various painters occurred, while the paintings or drawings made during the modern period (*kinsei*), the Edo period, were not treated as a major scholastic topic. In this context, there may be one more thing that influenced Jakuchū. Unlike the depiction of *Tsukumogami* by the artists of the Muromachi period, during the Edo period, artists became interested in describing these personified creatures to attract the general public (*taishū*). The Edo period, especially in the mid-eighteenth century, when Jakuchū worked actively, was a time of phenomenal growth of urban cultures. Along with the increased publications, one of the popular types of books, called sosō-shi,[271] was printed and sold to the general public, who enjoyed reading this entertaining literature. In these books there are some pages with humorous depictions of *Tsukumogami*. These pages are called kiiro-omotegami, and were mostly published from 1775 to 1806. Toriyama Sekien's Gazu Hyakki Yagyō may belong to sosō-shi, which was popular with the Edo public. The last section of this four-volume illustrated book, titled Tsurezure bukuro, has a couple of stories about *Tsukumogami*. The title originally derived from the collection of essays Tsurezuregusa[272] (c. 1300)" by Yoshida Kenkō, (1283-1350), a poet and essayist of the Kamakura period. Kenkō's essays were used for educational reading, especially during the seventeenth

[271] Adam Kabat, "Mono no Obake: Kinsei no Tsukumogami Sekai," IS 84 (2000): 10- 14.

century. In general, for the people of the Edo period, Kenkō was often viewed as a hermit who liked to wander and travel all over the country. Sekien interpreted and symbolized Kenkō as a person who was closely associated with the supernatural world (*ikai*).[273] People such as Jakuchū and many others longed for such supernatural power and wandering lives, in which "the rejection of the world of strife, to live as a hermit is one aspect of the search for an ideal life of quietude."[274] Therefore, depictions of the supernatural world and stories association with it were produced in a society in which people's belief in the supernatural and aesthetic of nature were important parts of their everyday lives.

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[272] Translated as "Essays in Idleness." (English written book was published in 1967)
[273] Inada Atsunobu, "Yōkai no na, Toriyama Sekien, Zuga, Hyakki Yagyō o megutte," Setsuwa Bungaku Kenkyū 37 (2002), 54.
[274] Janet Carpenter, "Sennin: The Immortals of Daoism," Japanese Ghosts & Demons, Art of the Supernatural. Edited by Stephen Addiss (New York: George Braziller in association with the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas. 1985), 57.

CONCLUSION

Jakuchū and his contemporaries of the eighteenth century, especially those in Kyōto, lived in a freer environment than where creativity was suppressed by the rigid Tokugawa government. Since the strong wave of imported Chinese culture in the middle of the seventeenth century, many Japanese scholars and artists were able to open their eyes to such a new fresh culture and they were inspired by the aesthetic aspect of the Chinese tradition. The idea of Zen Buddhism, especially that of the Ōbaku sect, was the most influential cultural institution among these intellectuals whose interest was the various features of customs practiced in homeland China, including the *sencha* practice, the languge, and the visual arts. The wealth of the city of Kyōto allowed people to join the Zen community that played an important role in keeping this imported Chinese culture, and the interaction with them offered Jakuchū the opportunity to nourish his keen insight, as his artistic source of inspirtaiton is expressed in some of his monochrome ink paintings. What most distinguished this Zen sect was its syncretic character that incorporated various types of ideas: the Pure Land sect of Buddhism and Daoism, for instance. Jakuchū's interest in Daoist subjects, *dōshakuga*, appears on his figura paintings of Jittoku, Hotei, and Kanzan, whose unconventional and wandering nature is reflective of this artist's quest for the idea how each sentient being can attain his or her buddhahood. In other words, his monochrome ink works are ideal for Zen, in which the humanistic view of the world is expressed only with one color, embodying his inner statement. For instance, in order to emphasize the unworldly characteristic of these legendary Daoist figures,

Jakuchū never depicts their faces from the front; they are shown looking up at the sky or even turing their backs to the audience.

Although seldom did Jakuchū make reference in his monochrome ink works to some of the Edo-period painters who were possibly outside the community, a major influence was the artists who originally studied the Kanō school. In general, Jakuchū's unconventional style is hard to classify within the orthodox style of the Kanō school, which had gradually declined at that time, but his paintings cannot be classified in one category or the other. There are, however, some of his works that present clues to the inspiring style produced by some of the individualist artists of the Edo period. The figure style used by Ōoka Shumboku, an artist slightly mentioned in most scholary sources on Jakuchū studies, and Tachibana Morikuni, an artist never disccused in Jakuchū scholarship, were both painters actively working in this area, and they exercised considerable influence on Jakuchū's aritistic vocabulary, because their instructional texts (*e-hon*), which focused on compositon and brushwok, were possibly studied by Jakuchū. It is likely that he knew the conventions from these texts and numerous paintings by Edo artists. Ogata Kōrin and Shokadō Shōjō, from Kyōto and Ōsaka, working earlier than Jakuchū's time, and their subjects and composition often focused on rhythmic repetition of geometric shapes, similar to that of Jakuchū.

Furthermore, Jakuchū's exposure to Zen might have provided a stimulus for his inclining to the theme of religious compassion, especially expressed in his *Tsukumogami-zu*, in which abandoned tools with evil minds, entering the religious

priesthood, are depicted. This narrative story of *Tsukumogami* describes inanimate objects beoming buddhas, with the guidance of the Buddhist masters, the Shingon masters in particular. In fact, Jakuchū might have made use of the Zen Buddhist metaphor to describe the difficulty of ordinary living, as opposed to the way of the Daoist legenday figures whom Jakuchū venerated. The syncretic teachings of Ōbaku Zen incorporate some of the doctrines of the Pure Land and Shingon sects, such as the notion of *sōmoku jōbutsu*, meaning that every sentient beings possesses Buddha-nature.

Therefore, Jakuchū's works provide an important key to understanding the eighteenth century Japanese society where the growth of urban cultures was fostered by the imported Chinese culture. It is Jakuchū's artistic vision and spirit that are combined with such Chinese art sources, including themes and techniques. However, at the same time, it was Jakuchū's own esthetic world that was never restricted to a single art form.

APPENDIX

In the Kōho Period, old tools thrown away after the usual event of *susuharai* (sweeping soot), meet and gather at one place to discuss some important matters. One of the tools says, "In spite of the fact that we worked hard and played important roles for our owners, we did not get any reward from them, rather we were just thrown away and we were even stepped on by horses and cows. So, now it's time to become apparitions to take revenge on people who treated us badly." Then, a bonze named Ichiren comes and put in a word, "everyone, it is a matter to be regretted, but this is our fate. So, it's better to return good for evil." Then, one of the tools, Aratarō, a hand stick, seems to be unhappy to hear what Ichiren says and speaks with asperity. "Hey, you, it is none of your business. Go away! Nobody listens to you, because you are a mere stripling." Aratarō beats Ichiren with his stick. Ichiren tries to escape from them. A couple of disciples of Ichiren come and help Ichiren stand up, because he was already too weak to escape and walk. While their discussion is still going on, a man named Kobun, a Professor of Old Literature, states his opinion to the others. "At the time heaven and the earth were created, everything was made equal, since there was no human, no tool, and no plant having its own figure or image. However, the Way of Yin and Yang temporarily gave lives to all things in the universe. If we got the Way of Yin and Yang, we surely would become ones with souls from simple tools. According to Chinese folklore, there are a couple of tools being transformed into ones with souls, with the help of the Way of Yin and Yang. Believe this and wait until next *setsubun* (the day before the calendrical beginning of spring) comes. *Setsubun* is the time when tools modify their forms into new ones, as Yin and Yang are exchanged. I believe if we devote

ourselves to getting the help of the Creator of the Universe, the Way of Yin and Yang, we will be reincarnated as apparitions. Every old tool listened and wrote down carefully what Professor Kobun said. In the meantime, Ichiren, who had been harshly kicked out by the old tools, tried to persuade them once more. However, his disciples stop him. Instead, Ichiren reads a poem, "My abandoned heart is never relieved, just like the beads of a strap are tied firmly." Finally comes the night of *setsubun*. As Professor Kobun said, the old tools strongly wished for and asked the Creator of the Universe, Yin and Yang, to help them be reincarnated and transformed into apparitions. Because they were 100-year-old-tools, they already possessed enough virtue to reincarnate themselves. Some transformed themselves into male and female humans, old men, or children, and others became beasts or monsters. These various kinds of fearful apparitions are hard to describe in words. They try to find places to live. They decide to live near people, because if they lived far away from towns, they might suffer from shortages of food. The place these apparitions decide to live is in the depths of Nagasaka, in back of Mt. Funaoka, northwest of Kyōto. Since then, people in Kyōto suffered from evil acts by these apparitions. However, these evil ones are invisible to the human beings, so people have no idea how to subjugate them. The only thing people can do is to pray to the gods and Buddha to ask for help. One day, one of the apparitions says, "our country is a land of gods and everyone living here believes in these gods and prays to them. For this reason, we also need to pray to these Creators. From now on, we will regularly have religious ceremonies to pray to the Creators as our *uji-gami* (guardian gods), so that our luck definitely will be kept for a long time, and our descendants will prosper as well. In the depths of the mountain they build a shrine, naming it *henge daimyōjin* (a god of

goblins or specters). The priests, musical performers, and shamans are selected, and the religious ceremony is held every morning and evening. At midnight on April fifth, these apparitions march on the street called *Ichijō* toward the east. As they march on the street there is a Regent and his group proceeding to the west. When the Regent and his group come upon these apparitions, some of them who are riding on their horses fall off and the others fall to the ground. However, the Regent was the only person who was not afraid at all, but rather he is calm and he just stares at the apparitions from his carriage. Somehow, suddenly a fire, which blows out from his amulet, blasts the apparitions. They make their escape from the fire. The next morning, the Regent tells the Emperor what happened. Being amazed by this story, the Emperor asks some of the faith healers to do a divination. According to the healers, people in the town need to behave prudently. The Emperor decides to order the priests of the shrines to start praying. At any rate, the Regent's amulet originally given to him by a certain priest has a saying "Sonshodarani" written on it. Even though the priest rejects the order, he is not allowed to decline it and then finally decides to have "Nyōhō sonshō" at the chamber called *Seiryōden*. On the night of the sixth day of the ritual, when the Emperor is on his way to the *Seiryōden* chamber, there is a light blinking brightly over the roof of the chamber. The emperor sees there are seven or eight mysterious looking guardian children in the light. Some of them hold swords in their hands, and some carry sticks. Then the light and these children fly to the north. The Emperor is so impressed to see these children, who must be serving for the God of Fire, appear here that he lets the apparitions surrender. The Emperor attends the ritual to pray to the Gods and, after the mass is over, he asks the priests to come to see him and says, "Although this is not his first time to see this

kind of phenomena of the esoteric Buddhism (*Mikkyō*) of the Shingon sect this time, your praying worked very well, because of your long training as priests."

In the meantime, these guardian children get into the place where the apparitions live, and they make them surrender. The guardian children say to the apparitions, "You will be kept alive if you promise us not to hurt people anymore and to worship the Buddha in order to achieve *satori* (enlightenment). Otherwise, you all will be destroyed." The apparitions understand and promise not to hurt people anymore, and also they declare to devote themselves to the Buddha. After this fearful event, the apparitions gather and tell each other that they feel safe now about being kept alive. One of them says, "We are punished in this way, because we have killed and harmed many creatures and have done cruel things to them before. Luckily, we were not killed, because we realized that we have made mistakes and have harmed many living creatures. From now on, let's search for the real virtue of living as dedicated Buddhists. They all agree with what this apparition says and become religious. "We need someone to guide and teach us about the Buddhist world. We wonder whether the educated priest, Ichiren, might be the right person to teach us about Buddhism. However, we still regret what we have done to him last winter and hope he will forgive us and accept our offer." They visit the priest Ichiren. Since the last winter, Ichiren has kept solitary and lived deep in the mountain. Ichiren hears someone knocking on the door when he sits and spends the evening as usual. He opens the door and sees the various apparitions standing there. Being surprised to see them, Ichiren asks, "Who are you? Are you trying to bother my holy Buddhist world?" The one of the apparitions answers him, "we are the old tools that you used to meet. We have been reincarnated as apparitions." They

start to talk about what has happened to them since the last time they saw Ichiren and how they have began to enter the Buddhist world, and so forth. Ichiren says, "To tell the truth, since then, I always tried to find you and wondered what you were doing. I am so glad to see you again and to know you now devote yourselves to the Buddha." Soon after, the apparitions enter the priesthood. One day, a priest, a former apparition, says to his master, "Even though *satori,* one's enlightenment obtained through his or her study, is a great principle, how fast or how slowly one attains *satori* depends on what he or she learns. If possible, soon I wish I can get more profound teaching in order to enter a path true nature." His master replies in a majestic way, "Because I have studied different sects, and even I have learned from the famous teachers of the Shingon sect of the Buddhism for such a long time, I finally realized that almost all teachings are the same, although the process of how you attain enlightenment is slightly different depending on which doctrine you follow. However, it is still hard to judge which doctrine is best. Nevertheless, when you talk about *sokushin tongo* (becoming a Buddha without going through any Buddhist training in the present body)," the best principle for the one who tries to attain his or her *satori* in a moment is to follow the power of *sanmitsu* (three mysteries based on the doctrine of *Mikkyō*, esoteric Buddhism), including the special power of *mi* (body), *ku* (speech), and *i* (mind). At the time when Kōbō Daishi[275] (another name of Kūkai, 774-835, a Japanese Buddhist monk, the founder of the

[275] After the shift to a new capital, Kyōto, the court encouraged the activities of Buddhist monks who tried to devote themselves to spiritual rather than worldly matters. Two forms of Buddhism were founded by monks who studied in China and brought them back to Japan. During the early Heian period or so-called Jōgan period (794-951), there are two major religious Buddhist sects, the two sects of Esoteric Buddhism, including Tendai and Shingon introduced by China. The former, founded by Saichō (767-822), includes the teachings of the Mahayana school of Buddhism with its focus on salvation for everyone. In other words, everyone can become enlightened and has Buddha nature. The latter, founded by Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) (774-835), has a teaching that one's true words should be taught orally and directly and it emphasizes the spiritual and transcendental worlds.

Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism) taught this practice, the teachers of other sects did not follow it and debated it at the court. Even of those attending that debates tried to argue and state his opinions about the points upon which they disagreed with Kōbō Daishi. Kōbō Daishi's speech was the best method for attaining one's enlightenment, as was clearly stated. Everyone was so astonished at Kōbō Daishi's speech. Being impressed with his ability, the Emperor orders Kōbō Daishi to prove how he can attain satori. Kōbō Daishi accepted the emperor's order and soon his body came to be united with Dainichi Nyorai, with five bright colored lights flashing behind his back. In this way, Kōbō Daishi's teaching of *sokushin jōbutsu* (becoming a Buddha in this very body) was interpreted and understood by everyone. Since then, the Shingon sect of esoteric Buddhism has been active. Although the other esoteric Buddhist sect, Tendai, has a story saying that inanimate objects can attain enlightenment, it has no example to prove it. However, the Shingon sect, characterized by the doctrine of the three mysteries (*sanmitsu*), is the only sect that proves inanimate objects can truly attain enlightenment by giving examples. While this notion is described by the other sects as *Sōmoku Jōbutsu* (grass and trees' entry into the attainment of Buddhahood), it is presented by the Shingon sect with a saying, "in addition to grass and trees, other inanimate things such as old tools also become religious and devote themselves to practice the priesthood in order to attain Buddhahood." There are huge differences between the doctrines of *mikkyō* (esoteric Buddhism: the Shingon and Tendai sects of the Buddhism) and *kenkyō* (Buddhist sects other than the esoteric ones). Everything, including animate and

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In this sect, "Mandalas (cosmic diagrams), such as Kongō kai (The Diamond Womb Mandala) and Taizō Kai (Womb World Mandala), are used as devices for one's meditation. According to the doctrine of the Shingon-shu, everyone can become one with the transcendental Buddha, called Dainichi Nyorai, to attain *satori* (enlightenment), as depicted in the Kongōkai (Diamond World) Mandala.

inanimate things, has *aji* (the origin of various things), and this never vanishes. Again, there is a question: Why do only old tools transform into apparitions? If you try to understand the deep meaning of this notion and hope to attain Buddhahood, it is better to enter and follow the doctrines of esoteric Buddhism, especially that of the Shingon sect.

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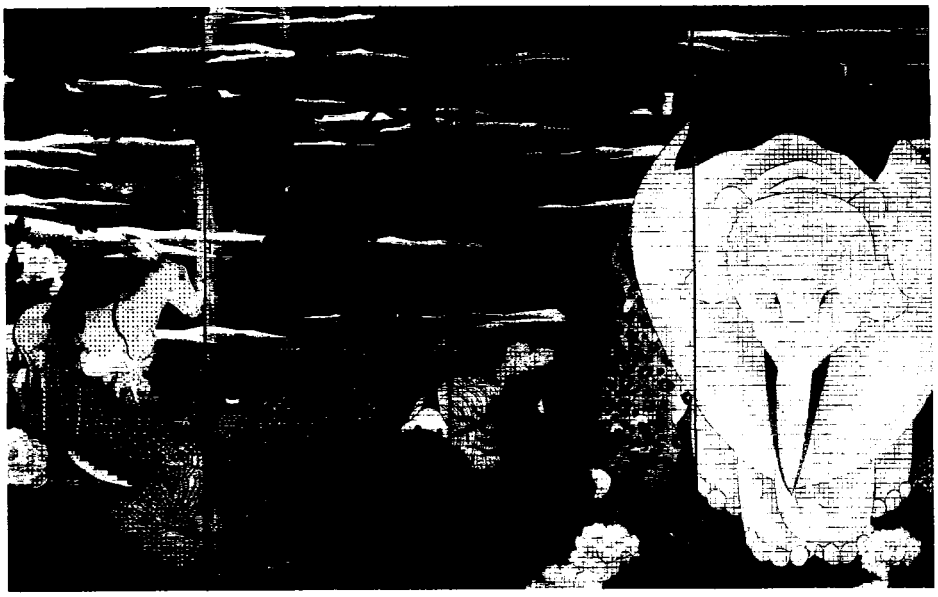

Plate 1. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Chōjū Kaboku-zu Byōbu (Figures, Birds, and Flowers). Pair of six-panel screens. Ink on paper.
67 1/8 x 147 7/8 in. (170.5 x 375.5 cm); Panels, each: 50 ¼ x 20 11/16 in. (127.6 cm x 52.6 cm). Etsuko and Joe Price Collection. Photo © 2005 Museum Associates/ LACMA (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

Plate 2. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Secchū Enō-zu (Mandarin Ducks in the Snow). From Dōshoku-saie (Series of Animals and Plants in Colors). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. 141.8 cm x 79.0 cm. Dated 1759. Tōkyō: Sannomaru Shōzō-kan Museum, Imperial Household Agency, all rights reserved.

Plate 3. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Gunkei-zu (Roosters). From Dōshoku-saie (Series of Animals and Plants in Colors). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. 141.8 cm x 79.4 cm. Dated 1765. Tōkyō: Sannnomaru Shōzō-kan Museum, Imperial Household Agency, all rights reserved.

Plate 4. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Baikō-zu (Shells). From Dōshoku-saie (Series of Animals and Plants in Colors). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. 142.0 cm x 79.1 cm. Dated 1765. Tōkyō: Sannnomaru Shōzō-kan Museum, Imperial Household Agency, all rights reserved.

Plate 5. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Gungyo-zu (Fish). From Dōshoku-saie (Series of Animals and Plants in Colors). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. 142.1 cm x 79.2 cm. Ca. 1766. Tōkyō: Sannnomaru Shōzō-kan Museum, Imperial Household Agency, all rights reserved.

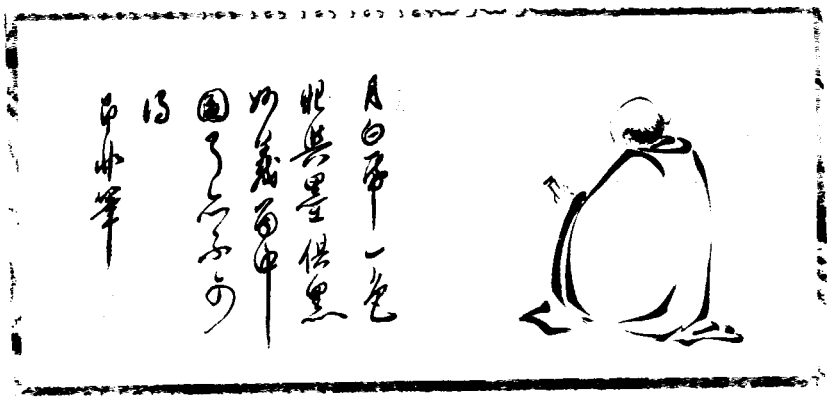

Plate 6. Sokuhi Nyoichi (1616-1671). Reading a Sutra under the Moon. Ink on paper. 10 13/16 x 23 7/8 in. 927.4 x 60.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Photograph, all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Harry G.C. Packard Collection of Asian Art, Gift of Harry G.C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and The Annenberg Fund Inc. Gift, 1975 (1975.268.79)

Plate 7. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Kanzan and Jittoku. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 39.9 cm x 58.6 cm. Dated 1761. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 8. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Jittoku oyobi Keizu (Zen Monk Jittoku and Domestic Fowls). Three hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. 101.8 cm x 28.9 cm each. Kyōto: Zenkyo-an, all rights reserved.

Plate 9. Ryōkai (Liang Kai, early 13th century). Kanzan and Jittoku. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 81.2 cm x 33.1 cm. Atami, Shizuoka: MOA (Museum of Art), all rights reserved.

Plate 10. Soga Shōhaku (1730-1781). Kanzan and Jittoku. Ink on paper. 197.0 cm x 115. 0 cm. Kyōto: Kōsei-ji, all rights reserved.

Plate 11. Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1748). Unpitsu Soga (Illustrated Book for Handling the Brush). Printed ink. 3 volumes in total. Dated 1749. Private Collection, all rights reserved.

Plate 12. Reigen Etō (1721-1785). Hotei in a Boat. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 40.1 cm x 53.6 cm. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 13. Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768). Hotei on a Boat. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 33.5 cm x 52.2 cm. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 14. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Hotei Tokazu (Hotei Crossing a River). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 101.4 cm x 50.6 cm. Kyōto: Daikōmyō-ji, all rights reserved.

Plate 15. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Gama Tekkai-zu (The Two Transcendents Gama and Tekkai). A pair of hanging scolls. Ink on paper. 102.5 cm x 29.6 cm each scroll. Dated 1760. Permission is granted for reproduction limited to this thesis and no further publication, from Asia Society Galleries, New York, Money L. Hickman and Satō Yasuhiro, The Paintings of Itō Jakuchū (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990): 149.

Plate 16. Fugai Ekun (1568-1654). Hotei Pointing at the Moon. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 55.9 cm x 30.5 cm. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 17. Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). Kemari Hotei-zu (Hotei Kicking a Ball). Ink on paper. Painted around the late 1690s. Tōkyō: Idemitsu Art Museum, all rights reserved.

Plate 18. Tōrei Enji (1720-1792). Ensō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 31.5 cm x 55.5 cm. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 19. Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). Kanzan and Jittoku. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Atami, Shizuoka: MOA (Museum of Art), all rights reserved.

Plate 20. Kōgan Gengei (1747-1821). Kanzan and Jittoku. Ink on paper. 119.4 cm x 31.7 cm. Reproduced with permission from John Stevens and Alice Rae Yelen, Zenga: Brushstrokes of Enlightenment, (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1990): 109.

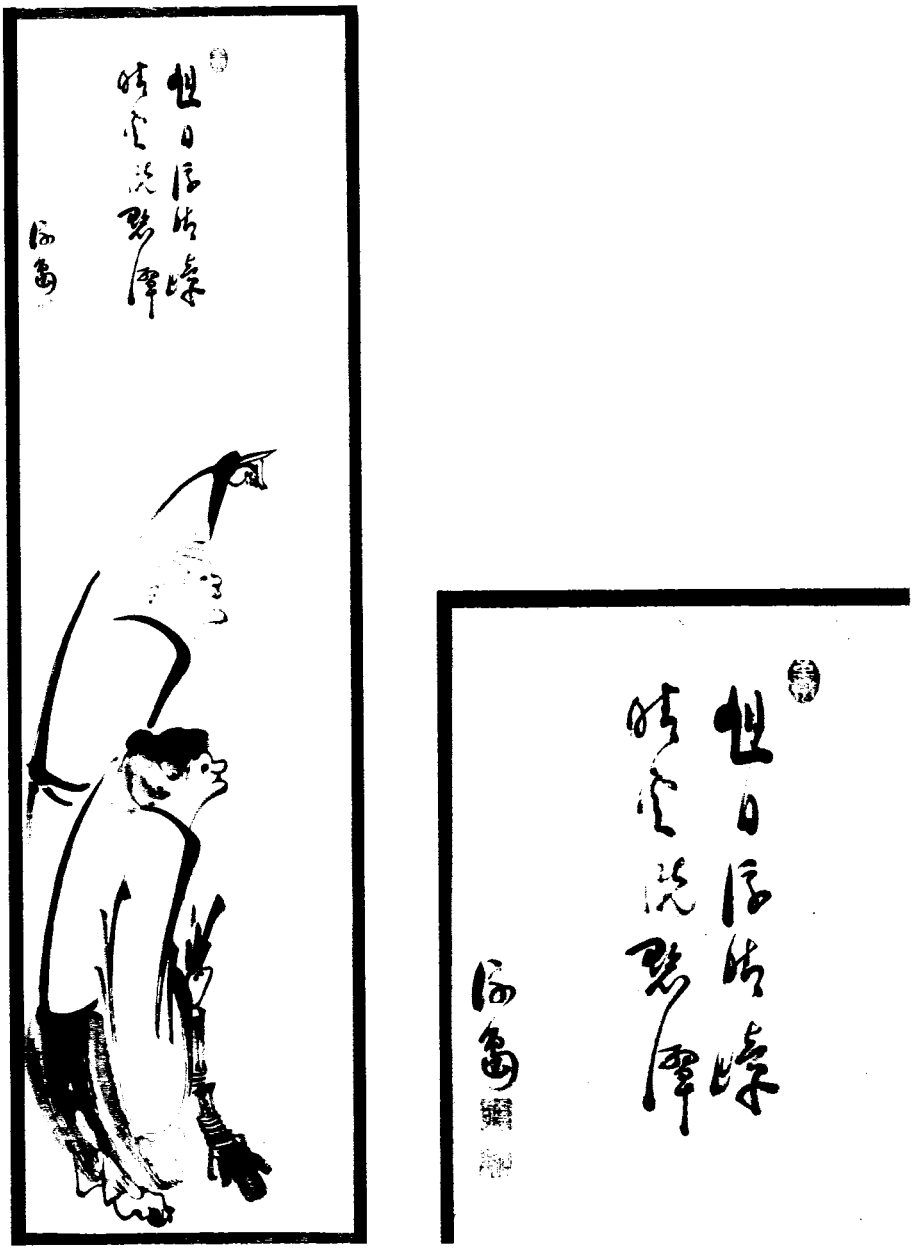

Plate 21. Suiō Genrō (1717-1789). Kanzan and Jittoku. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Ca. 1770. 10 15/16 x 40 3/8 in. (27.8 cm x 102.6 cm), Overall h.: 62 in., Overall w.: 12 ½ in. Seattle Art Museum, Gift of Kurt and Millie Gitter in Honor of William Rathbun and in honor of the museum's 50th year. Paul Macapia (Photo Credit), all rights reserved.

Plate 22. Shōkadō Shōjō (1584-1639). Hotei, Gantō, Fuge-zu. Pair of three hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. 126.5 cm x 29.1 cm each. Nishio, Aichi Prefecture: Chōin-ji, all rights reserved.

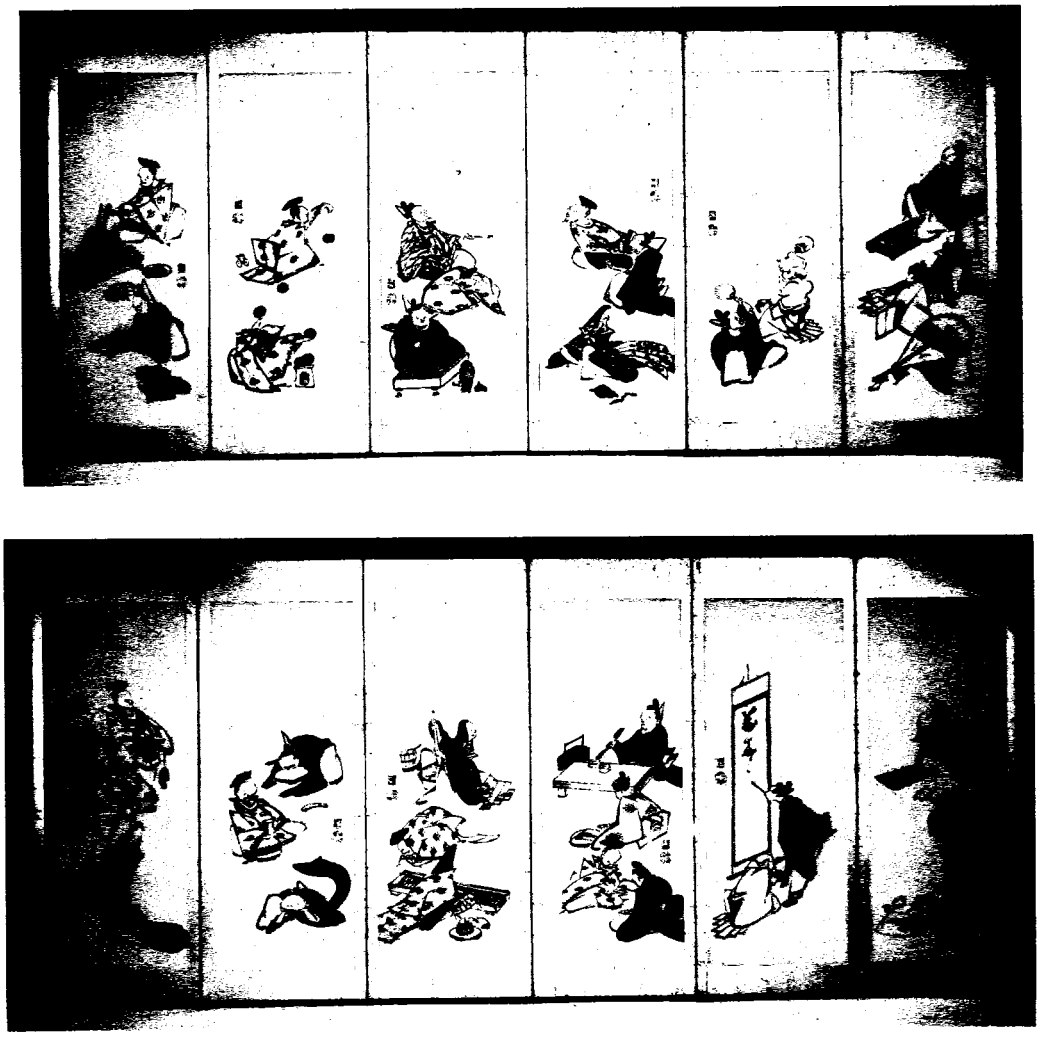

Plate 23. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Sanjūrokkasen-zu byōbu (The Thirty-six Immortal Poets). Paintings mounted on a pair of six-panel folding screens. Ink on paper. 140.3 cm x 54.0 cm each. Dated 1796. Denver: Denver Art Museum. Museum purchase with Marion G. Hendrie Fund and Asian Art Department. Acquisition Fund; 1977. 35.1, all rights reserved.

Plate 24. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Tsukumogami-zu (Spirits of Used Articles). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 129.2 cm x 27.9 cm. Fukuoka Municipal Museum, all rights reserved.

Plate 25. Anonymous painter. Tsukumogami Emaki (Painted Scroll of Tsukumogami). Gifu: Sūfuku-ji, all rights reserved.

Plate 26. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Kaso Nehan-zu (Scene of Buddha's Nirvana by Vegetables). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 181.7 cm x 96.1 cm. Kyōto: Kyōto National Museum, all rights reserved.

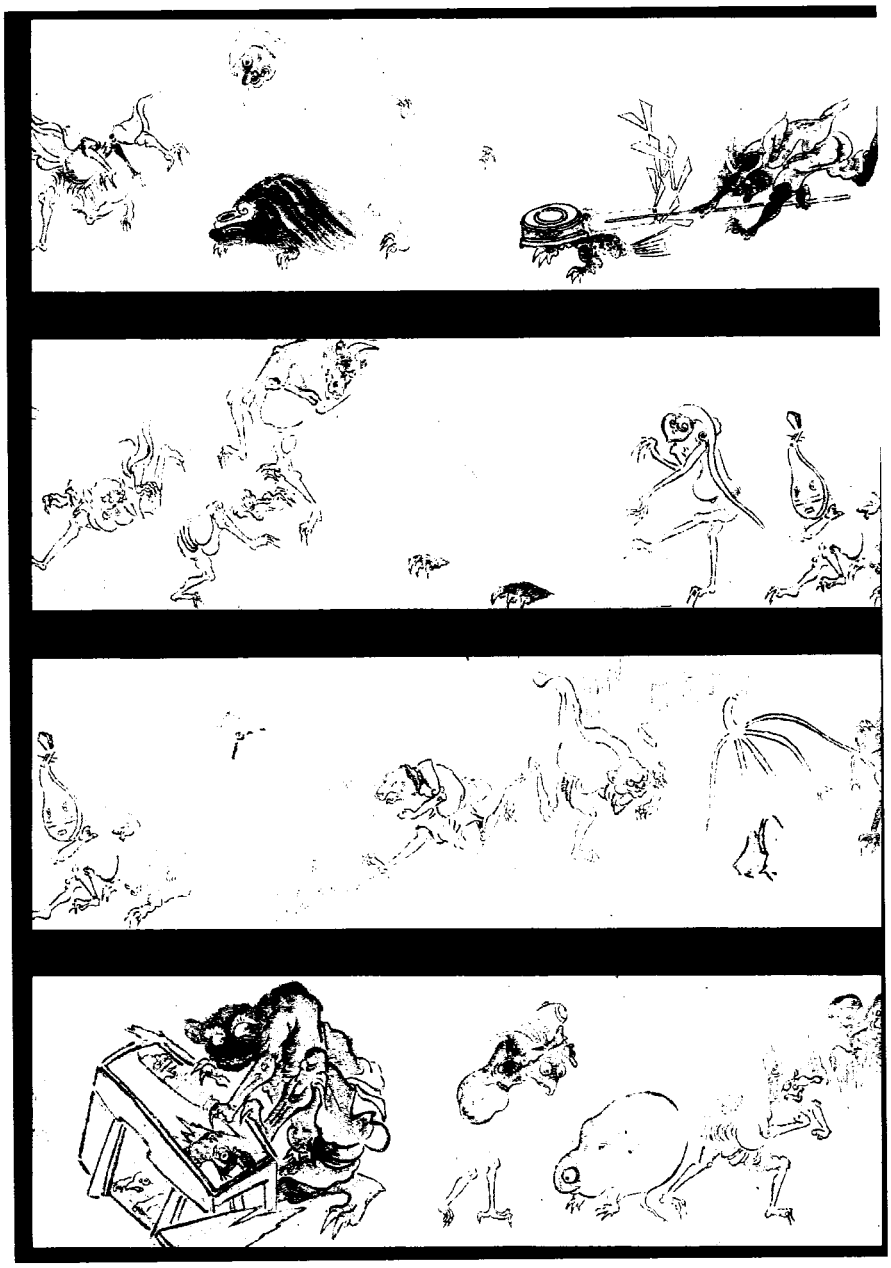

Plate 27. Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769). Hōgu Yōhen-zu (One Hundred Demons). Ink and color on paper. 13 7/8 x 146". Kyōto: Kondai-ji, all rights reserved.

Plate 28. Kōgan Gengei (1747-1821). Takuhatsu (Procession of Monks). Ink on paper. 118.1 cm x 35.9 cm. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 29. Nakahara Nantenbō (1839-1925). Takuhatsu (Procession of Monks). Pair of hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 129.5 cm x 30 cm (each). Dated 1924. New Orleans: Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art, all rights reserved.

Plate 30. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800). Fushimi Ningyō-zu (Seven Fushimi Dolls). Hanging scroll. Colors on paper with mica. 40 15/16 x 10 15/16 in. (104.0 cm x 27.8 cm). Etsuko and Joe Price Collection. Photo © 2005 Museum Associates/ LACMA (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).